

## XII.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BIOGRAPHY OF  
'ABD AL-KADIR OF JILAN.

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TO the life and doctrines of the famous founder of the Kādirī Order<sup>1</sup> a certain amount of attention has already been devoted in Europe, yet scarcely sufficient to render further investigation of the subject unnecessary. The following books, of which some are not easily accessible, treat either of the saint himself or of his Order:—

- E. de Neveu : *Les Khouan. Ordres religieux chez les Musulmans de l'Algérie* 2<sup>e</sup> édition. Paris, 1846 (the author's name is not on the title-page, but at the end of the dedication).  
 E. le Chatelier : *Confréries Musulmanes dans l'Hejaz*. Paris, 1882.  
 L. Rinn : *Marabouts et Khouan*. Algiers, 1884.  
 Depont et Coppolani : *Confréries religieuses Musulmanes*. Algiers, 1897.  
 Carra de Vaux : *Gazali*. Paris, 1902.

Of these authors the last has based his statements on the life of 'Abd al-Kādir called *Kalā'id al-Jawāhir*, by Muḥammad Ibn Yahya al-Tadifi (التادفي), composed about 980 A.H., printed at Cairo, 1303. The third and fourth depend largely on the second, who had at his disposal a number of works, among them a life of A.K. called *Tafriḥ al-khāṭir fī manāḳib sayyidī 'Abd al-Kādir al-Jīlānī*, translated from Persian by Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir al-Kādirī Ibn Muḥyi'l-dīn, printed at Cairo, 1300, as well as other books and MSS. which are not generally accessible. In 1903 a brief life of the saint in Arabic, ascribed to Ibn Hajar al-'Askalānī (ob. 852), was published by E. D. Ross; it bears

<sup>1</sup> Called here A.K. for brevity. F.M. stands for Ibn 'Arabī's *Futūḥāt Makkiyyah*.



the name *Ghibṭat al-nāẓir fī tarjamat al-shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir*. In the same year Mr. T. H. Weir published in this Journal a translation of part of the *Natījat al-taḥkīk*, which also deals with the saint's life (see J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 155-166). A list of other works in Arabic is given by Ahlwardt in his monumental catalogue. Some of the biographies were composed by disciples of the saint, as by the Kādi Abu'l-Kāsim Ibn Dirbās and his son; Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kādir Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Abi'l-Barakāt al-Tamīmī al-Bardānī; Abū Mansūr 'Abdallah Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī; Abu'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Muḥsin or Ḥusain Ibn Muḥammad al-Baṣrī; and Abū Bakr 'Abdallah Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ḥamzah al-Tamīmī al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīkī al-Baghdādī, whose work, called *Anwār al-nāẓir*, is probably in existence.

By far the most elaborate work on the subject is the *Bahjat al-asrār wa-ma'dīn al-anwār fī ba'd manāḳib al-Kuṭb al-rabbānī sayyidī A.K.* by Nūr al-dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf al-Lakhmī al-Shaṭṭanaufī, a teacher in al-Azhar, whose life lasted 644-713. This person was separated by eighty-three years from 'Abd al-Kādir; his statements, therefore, are derived at second or third hand from eye-witnesses, and few writers give more precise details of time and place. Yet the stories which his book contains are so wild that either he or some of his authorities must have deliberately deceived their contemporaries or themselves been the victims of hallucinations. The copy before me is that printed in Cairo, 1304; there is also a North African edition, which I have not been able to procure.

The plan of the Bahjah is as follows:—

1. Evidence showing that 'Abd al-Kādir declared before a large audience that his "foot was on the neck of every saint of God." The date of this remarkable saying is given on p. 12 as 570, nine years after the Shaikh's death; apparently, however, this number is corrupt; on p. 18 it is given as 559 on the authority of a man who flew through the air to hear it.
2. Incidents from the life of the Shaikh mixed up with extracts from his sermons. The following dates occur chiefly in this chapter:—



499, middle of Sha'bān (p. 53). The Shaikh joins a party who with Hammād al-Dabbās are going across the water to the Mosque of Ruṣāfah for Friday's service. Hammād pushes the Shaikh into the water. The latter saves his MSS., but suffers severely from the cold. (Sha'bān of this year fell between April and May: it should not therefore have been so cold at the time.)

508 (p. 115). Birth of his eldest son, 'Abd al-Rahmān.

509 (p. 56). The Shaikh's first pilgrimage from Baghdad. At the tower called Umm al-Kurūn he meets 'Adī Ibn Musāfir, and they travel together to Meccah, where an Abyssinian maid joins them. 'Adī Ibn Musāfir, whom I.Kh. thinks worthy of a notice, died 557 or 559 at a great age. This story may therefore have a foundation of truth.

521, Tuesday, 16 Shawwāl. A.K. saw the Prophet (p. 25). The week-day is right according to Wüstenfeld's tables. The Prophet insisted on the Shaikh's coming forward as preacher. In the form of the story told by Dhahabī it is the ascetic Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī who gives A.K. this advice. The same year (p. 29) the merchant Abu'l-Muẓaffar al-Ḥasan Ibn Najm Ibn Aḥmad of Baghdad comes to Hammād al-Dabbās, and is warned by him that if he start he will be killed and his goods robbed. A.K. then promises him that he will get safely to Damascus. Hammād afterwards meets this merchant in the Sūḵ al-Sultān of Baghdad, and tells him that his success is the result of 17 prayers of A.K.

522, Sha'bān (p. 114). Birth of A.K.'s son 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

526. A.K. and his pupils take part in building the wall of Baghdad. A.K. heads the people of the Azaj Gate Quarter. Kalā'id (p. 19).

528, Dhu'l-Ka'dah (p. 115). Birth of his son 'Abd al-Razzāk.

529, Dhu'l-Hijjah 27 (p. 53). Wednesday (according to Wüstenfeld should be Thursday). The Shaikh visited the grave of Hammād al-Dabbās in the Shūnīzī cemetery, whom he found with royal robes and crown in his grave, but unable to move his right hand, which had given A.K. the blow mentioned above, thirty years before. By A.K.'s mediation the hand was restored.

529 (p. 94). The Shaikh's class attended by Abu'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khair Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sahl Ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (ob. 541; see I.Kh., de Slane, i, 661). The



Shaikh spoke on any subject to which the thoughts of this hearer were directed.

537 (p. 81). The daughter of Abū Sa'd 'Abdallah Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī al-Azajī was snatched away by the Jinn. A.K. compelled them to restore her.

539 (p. 115): Rabī' i, end. Birth of his son Mūsā.

543 (p. 58). Friday, 5 Rejeb (the week-day is right according to Wüstenfeld). The Shaikh was visited by Bakā Ibn Baṭṭū, a saint scarcely inferior in reputation to A.K.

546 (p. 50). Visit of the same with several other famous saints. A servant who refused to eat at A.K.'s order was struck down dead, and afterwards restored to life at the saints' request.

548 (p. 81). Abu'l-Khalīl Aḥmad Ibn As'ad Ibn Wahb Ibn 'Alī al-Mukrī al-Baghdādī heard a sermon on the office of Kuṭb delivered by the Shaikh.

549 (p. 62). The Shaikh, being invited to a meal by Abū Ghālib Faḍl-allāh Ibn Ismā'il al-Baghdādī, cures a son of his host who was deformed and blind.

550 (p. 49). The saint 'Alī Ibn Idrīs al-Ba'kūbī was brought to A.K. and given by him a garment. Birth of A.K.'s son Yaḥyā.

552 (p. 72): Saturday night, 9 Rabī' ii (week-day wrong according to Wüstenfeld). Vision of a mysterious person flying through the air.

553 (p. 58). The Shaikh recites some verses to Abu'l-Kāsim 'Umar Ibn Mas'ūd al-Bazzār and Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mukrī.

(p. 25). The Shaikh recounts the vision of the Prophet seen in 521 to his sons and al-Bazzār.

555 (p. 67): Sunday, 3 Ṣafar (according to Wüstenfeld should be Saturday). The Shaikh by throwing a wooden shoe rescues a caravan from robbers at a distance of 23 days' journey.

556 (p. 76): Friday, 15 Jumādā ii (week-day wrong according to Wüstenfeld). Al-Bazzār went to the Mosque with A.K.

(p. 49). Al-Ba'kūbī brought for the second time to A.K.

558 (p. 98). A.K. sent a servant to buy material at a dinār a yard of the draper Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-Kāsim Ibn 'Abdān al-Kurashī.

559 (p. 18). Visit of mysterious persons flying through the air at night to see the Shaikh.



(p. 56). A.K. recounted his pilgrimage to Abu'l-Mafākhir al-Mukhtār al-Husainī.

(p. 63). In the presence of Abu Sa'd al-Kailawī A.K. healed a cripple and crippled a sound child.

(p. 73). Muḥarrām : A.K. warns his audience in time that the roof is about to fall.

560 (p. 77). Abū 'Abd al-Malik Dhayyāl desires and sees a miracle in A.K.'s stick.

(p. 79). A.K. performs a miracle in the presence of Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Wahb al-Azajī.

561 (pp. 101, etc.). Visit of Muwaffaq al-dīn and 'Abd al-Ghanī. They remain with A.K. 50 days till his death in Rabī' ii.

These seem to be all the dated incidents found only in the Bahjah and the Kalā'id; for greater security in many cases the dates on which the successive narrators heard them are all recorded.

3. Praises of his companions.
4. Account of his virtues.
5. Account of his teachers and pupils.
6. Collection of traditions taught by A.K. with their isnāds.
7. Account of various saints who all honourably mentioned A.K.

The Persian treatise cited, p. 297, note 4, mentions a *takmilah*, or supplement to the Bahjah, which is not (it would seem) accessible.

The life compiled by Dhahabī<sup>1</sup> (ob. 748) contains some of the matter printed in the Bahjah, and was evidently employed by the author of the Ghibṭah; it seemed to deserve rescuing from obscurity on account of the excellence of the sources which it in general employs. These in the main are contemporary, and can be studied side by side with A.K.'s writings—his sermons called *al-Fath al-Rabbānī* or (ungrammatically) *sittin majālis*, his discourses called *Futūḥ al-ghaib*, and his ethico-legal manual called *al-Ghunyah*. From these sources we can form a correct idea of the man whose name has with some Moslem communities displaced that of their Prophet.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Bodl. Laud. 304, foll. 241-244.



And the picture that results is that of a powerful preacher, whose personality rather than the import of his utterances was capable of stirring congregations to enthusiasm. The widow of a revivalist who in his time possessed the same power informed me that her husband seemed to feel some force radiating from the tips of his fingers when he preached—and this was how he accounted for the fact that he could rouse vast congregations, to whom he spoke through an interpreter in a foreign language. A story told by one of A.K.'s sons illustrates the same phenomenon, i.e. that of the effect being produced by the personality rather than the words of the preacher. His son 'Abd al-Wahhāb (Bahjah, p. 97) travelled and studied at different centres of learning, and on his return desired to occupy his father's pulpit. Leave was granted, but he failed to stir the audience. Then A.K. rose, and told a story about an egg which his wife had put in a plate, when the cat knocked it off the table and broke it. The story was not finished before it was evident that the audience was enthralled.

Not much more mysterious than this power is that ascribed to him of being able to read or divine the thoughts of his audience, of which some fairly credible tales are told by Dhahabī, whereas in the Bahjah we find it exaggerated (as indeed it is in one case below) into the miraculous.

In the Bahjah (written about a century after A.K.'s death) these powers are so developed that A.K. appears as a wonder-worker of the first rank. Some of his miracles bear a curious likeness to the matter recorded in the spiritualistic journals. At his meetings the shaikh flies in the air, and is contracted or elongated. He even holds 'materialization' séances, at which the Prophet and first four Caliphs appear on the pulpit steps. He can hypnotize a man till he fancies he is in a place which he had never seen and is not to see till some days afterwards (Kālā'id, p. 46). Other saints, living at a distance, by drawing magic circles can hear A.K. discoursing at Baghdad; and when their notes are compared with those taken in A.K.'s lecture-room at the time, they are found to correspond exactly. Perhaps this is why his



sermons are so accurately dated. A disciple one day, when collecting the caps which the audience had thrown off in imitation of the shaikh, found an *'iṣābah*, or bonnet, which was ownerless; the shaikh identified it as belonging to his sister who had been listening many miles away. The more commonplace miracles of healing the sick and raising the dead of course occur also; he has complete control over the Jinn; he can gratify any wish that is expressed to him; and is one of four saints who after death can act and move like the living (*yataṣarrafūna taṣarruf al-aḥyā*). We should be surprised at such a legend growing up in so short a time at such a centre of knowledge as Baghdad, did not Ibn 'Arabī in the generation after A.Ḳ. record similar miracles that he had either seen or himself produced.

The good contemporary evidence enables us in A.Ḳ.'s case to check these stories. Persons who had actually resided in his school and read with him, being asked whether they had seen anything of the sort, confessed that they had not. Indeed, it is evident that his reputation had fallen somewhat before the end of his life, since two disciples who were with him at the end declared that they were his only pupils. Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzī, who succeeded him as chief preacher in Baghdad, makes no suggestion of miracles.

The French writers whose works are enumerated at the head of this article deal more with the Kādirīs than with their founder. Dhahabī's biography is characterized by the want of method which is to be found in most Moslem works of the kind. Still, an edition of it with translation and commentary seemed to me to be a step towards an account of the shaikh in advance of any that has yet been made.

Beyond, however, the personal importance of A.Ḳ., there is the interest attaching to the class which he represents: the persons who endeavoured to do for Baghdad what in modern cities is undertaken by such agencies as the City Mission or the Salvation Army. In a saying recorded below, the genuineness of which need not be disputed, he professes to have made large numbers of converts among the criminal classes in the great city of the Caliphs; and,



like some modern agencies for moral reform, he offered temporal relief as well as spiritual counsel. Money was sent to him for distribution among the poor, as it might be sent to the head of a mission in these days; and his theory was that alms should be given equally to the deserving and the undeserving (Bahjah, p. 104). A story told by a man who had seen A.K.—‘Umar al-Suhrawardī, in his ‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif, margin of the Iḥyā, Cairo, 1306, ii, 53—shows us the saint combining his faculty of second sight with his office of almoner. He sent, Suhrawardī tells us, to a man with whom some gold and some food had been deposited by an absentee, requesting that a portion of both be given him. The man at first refused to tamper with a deposit, but presently yielded out of respect for A.K.; and soon a letter arrived from the absentee authorizing the act. Nevertheless, this distribution of alms was doubtless only a subordinate part of the saint’s activity, occasioned by the fact that he had to make some temporary provision for persons whom he was rescuing from dishonest courses. The conversions, about the permanence of which we have no evidence to guide us, were the result of the magnetic personality which has been described.

On the other hand, it is evident that A.K. had no sympathy with that mode of reformation that consists in the encouragement of research and the spread of education. Stories told below illustrate his objection to works dealing with *kalām*, i.e. metaphysical theology and philosophy. The Bahjah adds a miracle, to the best of my belief unparalleled in hagiologies, illustrating the saint’s aversion to these books. One of his pupils brought to his lecture-room a book containing some philosophical matter, and by a fiat A.K. transformed it into a wholly different book, “The Virtues of the Koran,” by Muḥammad Ibn al-Darīs (p. 48)! According to the same biography he repeatedly caused those who had studied such subjects to forget entirely what they had learned. We find him denouncing from the pulpit a Kādī whose wickedness apparently consisted in the possession of the works of Arabic philosophers. His son



'Abd al-Wahhāb applied the term *kāfir* or unbeliever to his son for the possession of similar literature, and his books were publicly burned. Though A.K. numbered some eminent grammarians among his disciples, he appears, at any rate towards the end of his life, to have conceived contempt for grammatical finesse.

The substitute, then, for every other mode of reformation was to be the excitement of religious emotion. When the man capable of producing this was no more, his successors had to find some artificial method to serve as a substitute for his eloquence, and his son introduced music and dancing into the religious services of the order (Depont et Coppolani, p. 298). Into the history of its propagation, which has been ably told by others, we shall not enter in this article.

#### DHAHABĪ'S LIFE OF 'ABD AL-KĀDIR.

عبد القادر بن ابي صالح عبد الله بن جنكي دوست وزاد بعض  
الناس في نسبه الى ان وصله بالحسن بن علي رضى الله عنه فقال  
ابن ابي عبد الله بن عبد الله بن يحيى الزاهد ابن محمد بن داود  
ابن موسى بن عبد الله بن موسى بن عبد الله المحض بن الحسن  
المثنى بن الحسن بن علي بن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه الشيخ  
ابو محمد الجيلي الحنبلي الزاهد صاحب الكرامات والمقامات  
وشيخ الحنابلة رحمة الله عليه ولد بجيلان في سنة ٤٧١ وقدم  
بغداد شاباً فتفقه على القاضي ابي سعد المخرمي وسمع  
الحديث من ابي بكر احمد بن المظفر بن سوسن التمار وابي غالب  
الباقلاني وابي القاسم بن بيان الرزاز وابي محمد جعفر السراج وابي  
سعد بن حشيش وابي طالب بن يوسف وجماعة روى عنه ابو سعد



السمعاني وعمر بن علي القرشي وولده عبد الرزاق وموسى ابنا عبد  
القادر والحافظ عبد الغني والشيخ الموفق ويحيى بن سعد الله  
التكريتي والشيخ علي بن ادريس السبعقوبي واحمد بن مطيع  
الباجرسي وابو هريرة محمد بن ليث بن الوسطاني واكمل بن  
مسعود الهاشمي وطائفة آخريهم وفاة ابو طالب عبد اللطيف بن  
محمد بن القتيبي وآخر من روى عنه بالاجازة الرشيد بن احمد بن  
مسلمة وكان امام زمانه وقطب عصره وشيخ شيوخ الوقت بلا مدافعة  
اخبرنا ابو محمد عبد الخالق بن عبد السلام ببعلبك ابا ابو محمد  
ابن قدامة سنة ٦١١ اخبرنا شيخ الاسلام محيي الدين عبد القادر بن  
ابي صالح الجيلي ابا ابو بكر احمد بن المظفر التمار ابا ابو علي بن  
شاذان ابا ابو بكر محمد بن العباس بن نجيب ابا يعقوب بن يوسف  
القزويني ابا محمد بن سعيد ابا عمر بن ابي قيس عن سماك عن  
عبد الرحمن بن زيد عن ابيه عن عبد الله بن مسعود قال ان بني  
اسرائيل استخلفوا خليفة عليهم بعد موسى فقام يصلي في القمر فوق  
بيت المقدس فذكر امورا كان صنعها فخرج فتدلى بسبب فاصبح  
السبب معلقا في المسجد وقد ذهب فانطلق حتى اتى قوما على  
شط البحر فوجدتهم يصنعون لبنا فسألهم كيف ياخذون هذا اللبن  
قال فاخبروه فلبث معهم وكان ياكل من عمل يده فاذا كان حين  
الصلاة تطهر فصلى فرفع ذلك<sup>١</sup> العمال الى قهرمانهم ان فينا رجلا  
يعمل كذا وكذا فارسل اليه فابى ان ياتيه ثلاث مرات ثم انه جاءه  
بنفسه يسير على دابته فلما رآه فرواتبعه فسبقه وقال انظرني

<sup>١</sup> اولئك Either omit or read



اكثر ما كان فقام حتى كلمه فاخبره خبره فلما اخبره خبره وانه كان ملكا وانه فر من رهبة ربه عز وجل قال لاظن اني لاحق بك قال فلحقه يعبد الله حتى ماتا برملة مصر قال عبد الله لو كنت ثم لاهتديت الى قبرهما من صفة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم التي وصف. قال ابن السمعاني ابو محمد عبد القادر من اهل جيلان امام الحنابلة وشيخهم في عصره فقيه صالح دين كثير الذكر دائم الفكر سريع الدعة تفقه على المخرمي وصحب الشيخ حماد الدباس قال وكان يسكن بباب الازج في المدرسة التي بنوا له منصبت يومًا لاودع رفيقًا لي فلما انصرفنا قال لي بعض من كان معي ترغب في زيارة عبد القادر والتبرك به فمضينا ودخلت مدرسته وكانت بكرة فخرج وعقد بين اصحابه وختموا القرآن فلما فرغنا اردت ان اقوم فاجلسني وقال حتى نفرغ من الدرس فالتقى درسًا على اصحابه ما فهمت منه شيئًا واعجب من هذا ان اصحابه قاموا واعادوا ما درس فلعلمهم فهموا<sup>1</sup> لانهم بكلامه وعبارته. وقال ابو الفرج بن الجوزي كان ابو سعد المخرمي قد بنى مدرسة لطيفة بباب الازج ففوضت الى عبد القادر فتكلم على الناس بلسان الوعظ وظهر له صيت بالزهد وكان له سميت وصمت وضاعت المدرسة بالناس وكان يجلس عند سور بغداد مستندًا الى الرباط ويتوب عنده في المجلس خلق كثير فعمرت المدرسة ووسعت وتعصب في ذلك العوام واقام فيها يدرس ويعظ الى ان توفي. قلت لم يسع سرارة ابن الجوزي ان يترجمه باكثر من هذا لما في قلبه له من البغض نعوذ بالله من الهوى. انبانا ابو

<sup>1</sup> Insert ما.



بكر بن طرخان ان الشيخ الموفق اخبرهم قال وقد سئل عن الشيخ عبد القادر رضي الله عنه ان ركنناه في آخر عمره فاسكننا في مدرسته وكان يعنا بنا وربما ارسل الينا ابنه يحيى فيسرج السراج وربما يرسل الينا طعاما من منزله وكان يصلي<sup>1</sup> الفريضة بنا اماما وكنت اقرأ عليه من حفظي من كتاب الخرقى غدوة ويقرأ عليه الحافظ عبد الغني من كتاب الهداية في الكتاب وما كان احد يقرأ عليه ذلك الوقت سوانا فاقمنا عنده شهرا وتسعة ايام ثم مات وصلينا عليه ليلا في مدرسته ولم اسمع عن احد يحكى عنه من الكرامات اكثر مما يحكى عنه ولا رايت احدا يعظمه الناس من اجل الدين اكثر منه وسمعنا عليه اجزاء يسيرة . قرأت بخط السيف بن المجد الحافظ سمعت ابا عبد الله محمد بن محمود المراتبي يقول سمعت الشيخ ابا بكر العماد رحمه الله قال كنت قد قرأت في اصول الدين فوقع عندي شك فقلت حتى امضي الى مجلس الشيخ عبد القادر فقد ذكر انه يتكلم على الخواطر فمضيت الى مجلسه وهو يتكلم فقال اعتقادنا اعتقاد السلف الصالح والصحابة فقلت في نفسي هذا قاله اتفقا فتكلم ثم التفت الى الناحية التي انا فيها فاعاد القول فقلت الواعظ يلتفت مرة هكذا ومرة هكذا فالتفت اليّ ثالثة وقال يا ابا بكر واعاد القول قم فقد جاء ابوك وكان غائبا فقمتم مبادرا الى بيتنا وانا ابي فقد<sup>2</sup> جاء . قلت ونظير هذه الحكاية ما حدثنا الفقيه ابو القسم بن محمد بن خالد قال حدثني

<sup>1</sup> لي على MS.

<sup>2</sup> قد Read .



شيخنا جمال الدين يحيى بن الصيرفي سمعت ابا البقاء النحوي قال  
 حضرت مجلس الشيخ عبد القادر فقرأوا بين يديه بالالحان فقلت  
 في نفسي ترى لاي شي ما ينكر الشيخ هذا فقال الشيخ يحيى واحد  
 قد قرا ابوابا من الفقه ينكر فقلت في نفسي لعل انه قصد غيري  
 فقال اياك نعني بالقول فتبت في نفسي من اعتراض علي الشيخ  
 فقال قد قبل الله توبتك . وسمعت شيخنا ابن تيمية يقول سمعت  
 الشيخ عز الدين احمد الفاروثي (يقول) سمعت شيخنا شهاب  
 الدين السهروردي يقول عزمتم على الاشتغال بالكلام واصول الدين  
 فقلت في نفسي استشير الشيخ عبد القادر فاتمته فقال قبل ان  
 انطق يا عمر ما هو من عدة القبر يا عمر ما هو من عدة القبر قال  
 فتركته وقال ابو عبد الله محمد بن محمود المراتبي قلت للشيخ الموفق  
 هل رايتكم من الشيخ عبد القادر كرامة لما اقمتم عنده فقال لا اظنه  
 لكن كان يجلس يوم الجمعة فكنا نتركه ونمضي لسماع الحديث عند  
 ابن سانع فكلما سمعناه لم ننتفع به قال السيف يعني لنزول  
 ذلك وذلك انهم سمعوا منه المسند والبخاري . وقال شيخنا ابو  
 الحسين اليونيني سمعت الشيخ عز الدين بن عبد السلام يقول ما  
 نقلت اليها كرامات احد بالتواتر الا الشيخ عبد القادر فقليل له هذا  
 مع اعتقاده فكيف هذا قال لازم المذهب ليس بمذهب . وقال ابن  
 النجار في ترجمة الشيخ عبد القادر دخل بغداد سنة ٨٨ وله ثمان  
 عشرة سنة فقرأ الفقه على ابي الوفاء بن عقيل وابي الخطاب وابي  
 سعد المبارك المخرمي وابي الحسين بن الفراء حتى احكم الاصول  
 والفروع والخلاف وسمع الحديث فذكر شيوخه قال وقرأ الادب على



أبي زكرياء التبريزي واشتغل بالوعظ إلى أن برز فيه ثم لازم الخلوة والرياضة والسياسة والمجاهدة والسهرة والمقام في الخراب والصحراء وصحب الشيخ حماد الدباس وأخذ عنه علم الطريق ثم إن الله تعالى أظهره للخلق وأوقع له القبول العظيم فعقد مجلس الوعظ في سنة ٥٢١ وأظهر الله الحكمة على لسانه ثم جلس في مدرسة شيخه للتدريس والفتوى في سنة ٢٨ وصار يقصد بالزيارة والنذور وصنف في الأصول والفروع وله كلام على لسان أهل الطريقة عال روى لنا عنه ولده عبد الرزاق وأحمد بن البندنجي وابن القبيطي وغيرهم . كتب إلى عبد الله بن أبي الحسن الجبائي بخطه قال قال لي الشيخ عبد القادر طالبتني نفسي يوماً بشهوة فكنت أضاجرها وأدخل في درب وأخرج إلى درب أطلب الصحراء فبينما أنا أمشي أن رأيت رقعة ملقاة فإذا فيها ما للاقوياء والشهوات إنما خلقت الشهوات للضعفاء ليتقوا بها على طاعة . فلما قرأتها خرجت تلك الشهوة من قلبي قال وقال لي كنت اقتات بخرنوب الشوك وورق الخس من جانب النهر . قرأت بخط أبي بكر عبد الله بن نصر بن حمزة التيمي<sup>1</sup> سمعت عبد القادر الجميلي يقول بلغت بي الضائقة في غلاء نزل ببغداد إلى أن بقيت أياماً لا آكل فيها طعاماً بل اتتبع المنبونات فخرجت يوماً إلى الشط لعلي أجد ورق الخس والبقل قلما ذهبت إلى موضع إلا وجدت غيري قد سبقني إليه فرجعت أمشي في البلد فلا أدري موضعاً قد كان فيه شيء منبوت إلا وقد سبقتم إليه فاجهدني الضعف وعجزت عن التماسك فدخلت مسجداً وقعدت

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes written التميمي .



وكدت اصافح الموت ان دخل شاب عجمي معه خبز وشواء  
وجلس ياكل فكنت اكد كلما رفع يده باللقمة ان افتح فمي من  
شدة الجوع حتى انكرت ذلك على نفسي ان التفت فرآني فقال  
بسم الله فابيت فاقسم علي فبادرت نفسي الى اجابته فابيت  
مخالفا لها ولمهاها فاقسم علي فاجبته واكملت مقصرا واخذ يسألني  
ما شغلك ومن اين انت فقلت اما شغلي فمستفقه واما من اين  
فمن جيلان فقال وانا من جيلان فهل تعرفلي شابا جيلانيا اسمه  
عبد القادر يعرف بسبط ابي عبد الله الصومعي الزاهد فقلت انا هو  
فاضطرب لذلك وتغير وجهه وقال والله يا اخي لقد وصلت الى  
بغداد ومعني بقية نفقة لي فسالت عنك فلم يرشدني احد الى ان  
نفدت نفقتي وبقيت بعدها ثلاثة ايام لا اجد ثمن قوتي الا من  
مالك معي فلما كان هذا اليوم الرابع قلت قد تجاوزتني ثلاثة  
ايام لم آكل فيها طعاما وقد احلت لي الميعة فاخذت من وديعتك  
ثمن هذا الخبز والشواء فكل طيبا فانما هو لك وانا ضيفك الان  
فقلت وما ذاك قال امك وجهت معني ثمانية دنانير والله ما  
خنتك فيها الى اليوم فسكنته وطيبته نفسه ودفعت اليه شيئا  
منها. كتب الي عبد الله بن ابي الحسن الجبائي قال قال لي الشيخ  
عبد القادر كنت في الصحراء اكرر الفقه وانا في مشقة من الفقر فقال  
لي قائل لم ار شخصا اقترض ما تستعين به على طلب الفقه فقلت  
كيف اقترض وانا فقير ولا وفاء لي قال اقترض وعلينا الوفاء قال فجئت  
الى بقال فقلت له تعاملني بشرط اذا سهل الله لي شيئا اعطيك  
وان مت تجعلني في حل تعطيني كل يوم ما رغيفا ورشادا قال فبكي



وقال يا سيدي انا بحكمك فاخذت منه مدة فضايق صدري فاظن  
انه قال فليل لي امض الى موضع كذا فاي شيء رأيت على الدكة  
فخذ وادفعه الى البقلي فلما جئت رأيت على دكة هناك قطعة  
ذهب كبيرة فاخذتها واعطيتهما للبقلي قال ولحقني الجنون مرة  
وحملت الى المارستان وطرقني الاحوال حتى مت وجاءوا بالكفن  
وجعلوني على المغتسل ثم سري عني وقمت ثم وقع في نفسي ان  
اخرج من بغداد لكثرة الفتن التي بها فخرجت الى باب الحلبة  
فقال لي قائل الى اين<sup>1</sup> تمشي ودفعني دفعة حتى خررت منها  
وقال ارجع فان للناس فيك منفعة قلت اريد سلامة ديني قال  
لك ذلك ولم ار شخصه ثم بعد ذلك طرقني الاحوال فكنت  
اتمنى من يكشفها لي فاجتزت بالظفرية ففتح رجل داره وقال لي  
يا عبد القادر ايش طلبت البارحة فنسيت وسكت فاغتاض<sup>2</sup> مني  
ودفع الباب في وجهي دفعة عظيمة فلما مشيت ذكرت الذي  
سألت الله فرجعت اطلب الباب فلم اعرفه وكان حمادا الدباس  
ثم عرفته بعد ذلك وكشف لي جميع ذلك مما كان<sup>3</sup> يشكل علي  
وكنت اذا غبت عنه اطلب العلم ورجعت اليه يقول ايش جاء بك  
اليما انت فقيه مر الى الفقهاء وانا اسكت فلما كان يوم الجمعة  
خرجت مع الجماعة معه الى الصلاة في شدة البرد فلما وصلنا الى  
قنطرة النهر دفعني القاضي في الماء فنقلت غسل الجمعة بسم الله

<sup>1</sup> MS. ان .

<sup>2</sup> MS. فاغتاض .

<sup>3</sup> MS. كنت .



وكان علي جبة صوف وفي كمي اجزاء فرفعت كمي لئلا تهلك  
الاجزاء وخلوني ومشوا فعصرت الجبة وتبعثهم وتأذيت من البرد  
كثيراً وكان الشيخ يؤذيني ويضربني وانا تمنيت وجدت يقول قد جاء  
اليوم الخبز الكثير والغالوج واكلنا وما خبأنا لك<sup>1</sup> وحشة عليك\*  
فطمع في اصحابه وقالوا انت فقيه ايش تعمل معنا فلما رآهم الشيخ  
يؤذونني غار لي وقال لهم يا كلاب لم تؤذونه والله ما فيكم مثله وانما  
اؤذيه لامتحنه فاراه جبلاً لا يتحرك ثم بعد مدة قدم رجل من همذان  
يقال له يوسف الهمذاني وكان يقال انه القطب ونزل في رباط فلما  
سمعت به مشيت الى الرباط فلم اراه فسألت عنه فقيل هو في  
السرداب فنزلت اليه فلما رأيته قام واجلسني وتفرسني وذكر لي  
جميع احوالي وحل لي المشكل علي ثم قال لي تكلم على الناس  
فقلت يا سيدي انا رجل اعجمي قم اخرج ايش اتكلم على  
فصحاء بغداد فقال انت حفظت الفقه واصوله والخلاف واللغة  
وتفسير القرآن لا يصلح لك ان تتكلم اصعد على الكرسي وتكلم على  
الناس فاني ارى فيك عذقا سيصير نخلة قال وقال لي الشيخ عبد  
القادر كنت اوصر وانهي في النوم واليقظة وكان يغلب علي الكلام  
ويزدحم علي قلبي ان لم اتكلم حتى اكاد اختنق ولا اقدر ان اسكت  
وكان يجلس عندي رجلان او ثلاثة يسمعون كلامي ثم تسامع الناس  
بي وازدحم علي الخلق حتى صار يحضر المجلس نحو من سبعين  
الفاً وقال لي تفتشت الاعمال كلها فما وجدت فيها افضل من  
اطعام الطعام اود لو ان الدنيا بيدي فاطعمها الجميع وقال لي كفي

<sup>1</sup> In the Kālā'id شيئاً , omitting these words.



مقبوبة لا تصب شياً لو جاءني الفادينار لم ابيتها وكان اذا جاء احد  
 بذهب يقول له ضعه تحت السجادة وقال لي اتمنى ان اكون في  
 الصحارى والبراري كما كنت في اول الامر لا ارى الخلق ولا يروني ثم  
 قال اراد الله مني منفعة الخلق فانه قد اسلم على يدي اكثر من  
 خمسمائة وتاب علي يدي من العيارين والمشالحة اكثر من مائة  
 الف وهذا خير كثير وقال لي ترد على الاثقال الكثيرة ولو وضعت  
 على الجبال تفسخت فاضع جنبي على الارض واقرأ إِنَّ مَعَ  
 الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا<sup>1</sup> ثم ارفع رأسي وقد انفرجت عني  
 وقال لي اذا ولد لي ولد اخذته على يدي واقول هذا ميت فاخرجه  
 من قلبي فاذا مات لم يؤثر عندي موته شيئاً وقال ابن النجار  
 سمعت عبد الرزاق بن عبد القادر يقول ولد لوالدي تسعة واربعون  
 ولداً سبعة وعشرون ذكراً والباقي اناث . وقال كتب اليّ عبد الله ابن  
 ابي الحسن الجبائي قال كنت اسمع كتاب الحلية على ابن ناصر  
 فرق قلبي وقلت في نفسي اشتبهت ان انقطع عن الخلق واشتغل  
 بالعبادة ومنصيت وصليت خلف الشيخ عبد القادر فلما صلى  
 جلسنا فنظر الي وقال اذا اردت الانقطاع فلا تنقطع حتى تتفقه  
 وتجالس الشيوخ وتتأدب والا ستمضي<sup>2</sup> وانت فريخ ما ريشت قال  
 ابن النجار اخبرني ابو عبد الله محمد بن سعيد الشاهد عن عبد  
 الوهاب بن الشيخ عبد القادر قال سمعت ابا الثناء بن ابي البركات  
 النهر ملكي يقول قال لي صديق لي قد سمعت ان الشيخ عبد

<sup>1</sup> Sūrah xciv, 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Kalā'id, p. 38 ; MS. ستطعى .



القادر لا يقع على ثيابه الذباب فقلت ما لي علم بهذا ثم بكرنا يوم  
 الجمعة وحضرنا مجلسه فالتفت اليّ واليه وقال ايش يعمل الذباب  
 عندي لا دبس الدنيا ولا غسل الآخرة . قال واخبرنا ابو البقاء عبد الله  
 ابن الحسين الحنبلي سمعت يحيى بن مجاح الاديبي يقول قلت  
 في نفسي اريد احصي كم يقص الشيخ عبد القادر شعرا من التواب  
 فحضرت المجلس ومعى خيط فكلما قص شعراً عقدت عقدة تحت  
 ثيابي من الخيط وانا في آخر الناس وانا به يقول انا احل وانت  
 تعقد قال وسمعت شيخ الصوفية عمر بن محمد السهروردي يقول  
 كنت اتفقه في صباى فخطر لى ان اقرأ شيئاً من علوم الكلام عزممت  
 على ذلك من غير ان اتكلم به فاتفق اني صليت مع عمي الشيخ  
 ابي النجيب فحضر عنده الشيخ عبد القادر مسلماً فسأله عمي  
 الدعاء لى وذكر له اني مشغول بالفقه وقمت فقبلت يده فاخذ  
 يدي وقال لى تب مما عزممت على الاشتغال به فانك تفلح ثم  
 سكنت وترك يدي ولم يتغير عزمي عن الاشتغال بالكلام حتى  
 شوشت على جميع احوالي وتكدر وقتي عليّ فعلمت ان ذلك  
 بمخالفة الشيخ قال وسمعت ابا محمد بن الاخضر يقول كنت  
 ادخل على الشيخ عبد القادر في وسط الشتاء وقوة برده وعليه قميص  
 واحد على راسه طاقة وحوله من يروحه بالمروحة والعرق يخرج  
 من جسده كما يكون في شدة الحر قال وسمعت عبد العزيز بن  
 عبد الملك الشيباني سمعت الحافظ عبد الغني سمعت ابا  
 محمد بن الخشاب النحوي يقول كنت وانا شاب اقرأ النحو واسمع  
 الناس يصفون حسن كلام الشيخ عبد القادر فكنت اريد ان اسمعه



ولا يتسع وقتي لذلك فاتفق ان حضرت يوماً مجلسه فلما تكلم لم استحسن كلامه ولم افهمه فقلت في نفسي ضاع اليوم مني فالتفت الى الجهة التي كنت فيها وقال ويلك تفصل النحو على مجالس الذكر وتختار ذلك اصحبنا نصيرك سيبويه وقال حكى شيخنا احمد ابن ظفر بن الوزير بن هبيرة قال سألت جدي ان ياذن لي الى الشيخ عبد القادر فاذن لي واعطاني مبلغاً من الذهب وامرني ان ادفعه اليه وتقدم اليّ بالسلام عليه فحضرت فلما انقضى المجلس ونزل عن المنبر سلمت عليه وتخرجت من دفع الذهب اليه في ذلك الجمع فبادرني الشيخ مسابقاً لفكري وقال هات ما معك ولا عليك من الشئ . حدثني ابو العباس احمد بن المبارك المرقعاني قال صحبت الشيخ عبد القادر

بيض المصنف هذا المقدار ويمكن ان نكتب من مناقبه وقال صاحب مرآة الزمان كان سكوت الشيخ عبد القادر اكثر من كلامه وكان يتكلم على الخواطر فظهر له صيت عظيم وقبول تمام وما كان يخرج من مدرسه الا يوم الجمعة او الى الرباط وتاب على يده معظم اهل بغداد واسلم معظم اليهود والنصارى وما كان احد يراه الا في اوقات الصلاة وكان يصعد بالحق على المنبر وينكر على من يولى الكلمة على الناس ولما ولي المقتفي للقاضي ابن المرخم الظالم قال على المنبر وليت على المسلمين اظلم الظالمين ما جوابك غدا عند رب العالمين وكان له كرامات ظاهرة لقد ادركت جماعة من مشايخنا يحكون منها جملة حكى لي خالي لاقى خاصبك قال كان الشيخ عبد القادر يجلس يوم الاحد فببت مهتما بحضور مجلسه فاتفق انني احتلمت وكادت ليلة باردة فقلت ما



افوت مجلسه واذا انقضى المجلس اغتسلت وجلت الى  
المدرسة والشيخ على المنبر فساعة وقعت عينه علي قال يا زبير  
تحضر مجلسنا وانت جنب وتحتج بالبرد . وحكى لي مظفر الحربي  
رجل صالح قال كنت انام في مدرسة الشيخ عبد القادر لاجل  
المجلس فمضيت ليلة وصعدت على سطوح المدرسة وكان الحر شديداً  
فاشبهت الرطب وقلت يا الهسي وسيدي ولو انها خمس  
رطبات وقال كان للشيخ باب صغير في السطح ففتح الباب وخرج  
وبيده خمس رطبات وصاح يا مظفر وما يعرفني فقال جد ما  
طلبت قال ومن هذا شيء كشيء قال وكان ابن يونس وزير الامام  
الناصر قد قصد اولاد الشيخ عبد القادر وبدد شملهم وفعل في حقهم  
كل قبيح ونفاهم الى واسط فبدد الله شمل ابن يونس ومزقه ومات  
اقبح موته قلت كان الشيخ رضي الله عنه عديم النظير بعيد الصيت  
راسا في العلم والعمل جمع الشيخ نور الدين الششطنوفي المقرئ  
كتاباً حافلاً في سيرته واخباره في ثلاث مجلدات اتى فيه بالدرة  
وازن<sup>1</sup> الجرة وبالصحيح والواهي والمكذوب فانه كتب فيه حكايات  
عن قوم لا خلاق لهم كما حكوا ان الشيخ تخطى في الهواء من منبره  
ثلاث عشرة خطوة في المجلس ومنها ان الشيخ وعظ فلم يتحرك احد  
فقال انتم لا تتحركون ولا تطربون يا قناديل اطربي قال فتأخرت  
القناديل ورقصت الاطباق وفي الجملة فكراماته متواترة ولم يخلف  
بعده مثله . توفي في عاشر ربيع الآخر سنة ٦١ وله تسعون سنة  
وشيعه خلق لا يحصون قال الجبائي كان الشيخ عبد القادر يقول  
الخلق حجابك عن نفسك ونفسك حجابك عن ربك

<sup>1</sup> توازن Perhaps



## TRANSLATION.

'Abd al-Kādir, son of Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallah, son of Jangī Dōst<sup>1</sup>; some add a series of ancestors bringing him into the line of al-Ḥasan son of 'Alī, as follows: son of Abū 'Abdallah, son of 'Abdallah, son of Yaḥyā the ascetic, son of Muḥammad, son of Mūsā, son of 'Abdallah, son of Mūsā, son of 'Abdallah the Pure, son of al-Ḥasan the Second, son of al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alī, son of Abu Ṭālib; the Shaikh Abū Muḥammad al-Jilī, the Ḥanbalite, the ascetic, endowed with miraculous powers and stations,<sup>2</sup> head of the Ḥanbalites.

He was born in Jilān<sup>3</sup> in the year 71,<sup>4</sup> and came to

<sup>1</sup> The filiation varies considerably in the different authorities. The probability is that the father's name was Jangī Dōst, with the *kunya* Abū Ṣāliḥ: and that the names Mūsā and 'Abdallah which we find early in the series are attempts at getting rid of the obviously foreign name Jangī Dōst, or explaining it away. That the Shaikh's own *kunya* was Abū Muḥammad seems certain: Sha'rānī therefore is mistaken in calling him Abū Ṣāliḥ. That he was a foreigner is evident from some of the stories which will be told later on: as when the Shaikh refuses to preach in public, for fear of giving offence to the natives of Baghdad by his foreign Arabic. It is certain that there could have been no such cause for alarm in the case of a descendant of 'Alī. In the *Bahjat al-asrār* (p. 88) the pedigree is given on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ Naṣr, the Shaikh's grandson by his son 'Abd al-Razzāk; and writers on the genealogies of the 'Alids suppose that it was Abū Ṣāliḥ Naṣr's invention. The fiction must be due to one of five persons, either the author of the *Bahjah* himself, his informant 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Hilālī al-Baghdādī, or the Shaikh, his son, or his grandson.

It has been suggested that Ṣūfī theory required that the great Shaikh should descend from 'Alī; and this view seems to be confirmed by the endeavour which we find in the *Futūḥ al-ghaib* to make him an 'Alid on the mother's side also, she being traced to Ḥusain. On the other hand, the tastes of orthodox Moslems were consulted by showing that the first two Caliphs were also among his ancestors. And to this too some chapters are devoted in the *Futūḥ*.

The list of the descendants of Ḥasan is quoted by Ibn al-Wardī, who comments on the names of all.

<sup>2</sup> A difficult Ṣūfī term, which, however, is explained by Kūshairī, whose words are thus paraphrased by his super-commentator (ed. Cairo, 1290, ii, 27): "a Maḳām is an epithet applied to the devotee, and acquired by him through practising that morality which can only be achieved by search, practice, and labour, together with the assistance of divine gifts." Kūshairī adds that a man's station is that which he is occupied in training for, and that he cannot aspire to attain one that is higher till he has exhausted the rules of the first. As illustrations of 'stations' the super-commentator gives 'content,' 'reliance on God,' 'resignation.'

<sup>3</sup> The country south of the Caspian is meant. The *Natījah* gives the name of the village as Nīf or Naif. Rinn, etc., are mistaken in thinking the village near Baghdad is meant. All doubt is prevented by the testimony of Sam'ānī.

<sup>4</sup> The *Ghibtah* tells us that this year was inferred from the statement of the Shaikh that he came to Baghdad when he was 18, in the year in which al-Tamīmī died. This Tamīmī was identified as Rizq allah Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, ob. Jumādā i, 488.



Baghdad when a young man, where he studied law with the Kādī Abū Sa'd al-Mukharrimī,<sup>1</sup> and heard tradition from Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Sausan al-Tammār, Abū Ghālib al-Bāḳillānī,<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Kāsim Ibn Bayān al-Razzāz,<sup>3</sup> Abū Muḥammad Ja'far al-Sarrāj,<sup>4</sup> Abū Sa'd Ibn Hashish,<sup>5</sup> Abū Ṭālib Ibn Yūsuf,<sup>6</sup> and others. Traditions were cited on his authority by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī,<sup>7</sup> 'Umar Ibn 'Alī al-Kurashī,<sup>8</sup> 'Abd al-Kādir's two sons 'Abd al-Razzāk<sup>9</sup> and Mūsā,<sup>10</sup> the ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghanī,<sup>11</sup> the Shaikh

<sup>1</sup> His name was Mubārak, and we shall hear of his school later on. Mukharrim was a place in Baghdad, where the palace of the Būyids was situated: see *Le Strange, Baghdad*, Index. In several texts it is corrupted to Makhzūmī. It seems clear that this person must have died in or before 528.

<sup>2</sup> From the Bahjah we learn that this person's full name was Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan. Possibly he was a descendant of the famous Kādī Abū Bakr Muḥammad, of whom a life is given by I.Kh. i, 609; for this person, dying in 403, left a son, al-Ḥasan, who might have been the great-grandfather of Abu Ghālib. He taught in the Jāmi' al-Ḳaṣr.

<sup>3</sup> The Bahjah adds the names 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad of Karkh. A brief notice of him is given in *Tāj al-'Arūs*, thus: 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Mūsā Ibn Bayān heard tradition from Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Bazzāz; he is distinguished from another Razzāz (Sa'id Ibn Abī Sa'id), 501-572, who must have been later than the Razzāz mentioned in the text.

<sup>4</sup> The famous author of the *Maṣāri' al-'usshāk*, I.Kh. i, 139. His erotic tastes may have affected 'Abd al-Kādir in the direction of Ṣūfism.

<sup>5</sup> In the Bahjah this name is given as Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Khunaish. The correct form is doubtless Ibn Khanbash.

<sup>6</sup> His name was 'Abd al-Kādir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Kādir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf.

<sup>7</sup> The well-known author of the work on Nisbahs, of whom I.Kh. (i, 378-9) gives a fairly full account. His life lasted from 506 to 562. He heard more than 4,000 shaikhs, of whom he made a dictionary for his son's benefit.

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned by Yāqūt (iv, 121), who calls him Kādī, and states that he composed a dictionary of his shaikhs.

<sup>9</sup> A brief account of him in the Bahjah, p. 114. He took the titles *Tāj al-dīn*, *Sirāj al-'Irāq*, *Jamāl al-A'immah*, and *Fakhr al-Ḥuffāz*, etc. He is said to have remained thirty years without raising his head to heaven.

<sup>10</sup> Called *Ḍiyā al-dīn* Abū Naṣr. He went to Egypt, and thence to Damascus, where he died.

<sup>11</sup> His name was Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid of Jerusalem. Many of his family were Kādirīs. He was called 'Commander of the Faithful in Tradition.' Yāqūt (*Geogr.* ii, 113) gives the following account of him: Jammā'il, village in the mountain of Nāblūs in the land of Palestine, birthplace of 'Abd al-Ghanī Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn 'Alī Ibn Surūr Ibn Nāfi' Ibn Ḥasan Ibn Ja'far Abū Muḥammad al-Maḳdisī: he took his nisbah from Jerusalem because Jammā'il is near it, and because Nāblūs and the territory appertaining thereto all are attached to Jerusalem, and there is only a day's journey between them. He was brought up in Damascus, whence he went in pursuit of tradition to Isfahān and other places. He was keen in the pursuit of knowledge, and went to Baghdad, where he heard Ibn al-Nakūr and others in the year 560: then he departed to Isfahān, and returned to Baghdad in the year 78, where he taught tradition: thence he migrated to Syria, and thence to Egypt,



al-Muwaffak,<sup>1</sup> Yahyā Ibn Sa'd allah of Takrīt,<sup>2</sup> the Shaikh 'Alī Ibn Idrīs al-Ba'kūbī,<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad Ibn Muṭī' al-Bājisrā'i,<sup>4</sup> Abū Hurairah Muḥammad Ibn Laith Ibn al-Waṣṭānī,<sup>5</sup> Akmal Ibn Mas'ūd al-Hāshimī,<sup>6</sup> and many others, of whom the last to die was Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Kubbaitī,<sup>7</sup> whereas the last to repeat traditions from him by licence was al-Rashīd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Maslamah.<sup>8</sup>

'Abd al-Kādir was the imam of his time, the Pole of his age,<sup>9</sup> and the teacher of teachers of his epoch without question. I was told by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Khālīk,<sup>10</sup>

where he was successful, and got together a following of Hanbalites. In Damascus he had been accused of openly avowing his belief in the bodily nature of the Deity, and this accusation being signed by various jurisconsults he was expelled from Damascus, and even in Egypt, whither he went, he underwent some trouble from this suspicion. He wrote various excellent books on Tradition, such as *al-Kamāl fi ma'rifat al-rijāl*: he died in the year 600 in Egypt. Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muhādarah*, i, 165, gives the name of another book of his, the '*Umdah*': he adds that he had the title Takī al-dīn, and died at the age of 59. He was therefore 20 years of age when he read with A.K.

<sup>1</sup> Muwaffak al-dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallah Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Kudāmah of Jerusalem. He was also of Jammā'il, and Yākūt, *loc. cit.*, gives an account of him. He was a voluminous author.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Faraj Ibn Abi'l-Sa'ādāt Ibn al-Ḥusain Ibn Muḥammad al-Takrītī, said to have been an author.

<sup>3</sup> Abu'l-Hasan. A lengthy account of him is given in the *Bahjah*, pp. 227-230, most of it in superlatives, according to the manner of this book. His nisbah refers to a place called Bā'kūbā at a distance of ten parasangs from Baghdad: the nisbah is regularly corrupted to Ya'kūbī in MSS. and printed books. He was also called Rauḥānī, from Rauḥā, a village near Bā'kūbā. He died 619.

<sup>4</sup> His kunyah was Abu'l-'Abbās. Bājisrā is near Baghdad.

<sup>5</sup> His names are thus given in the *Bahjah* (p. 113): Muḥammad Ibn Abi'l-Futūḥ al-Azajī al-Dīnārī, the Blind, known as Ibn al-Waṣṭānī. *Dīnārī* is a nisbah from the name of a street in Baghdad.

<sup>6</sup> The *Bahjah* (p. 94) adds Ibn 'Umar.

<sup>7</sup> The Tāj al-'Arūs mentions this man as a famous Traditionalist. In the *Bahjah* (p. 113) his nisbah is given as Ibn al-Sakaṭī, and we are told that he lived first in Ḥalwān, and then in Baghdad, and was a dealer in jewels. Kubbaitī should mean 'dealer in a sweetmeat called *nāṭif*.' He is also mentioned by Kutbī (ii, 224) as teacher of a man who was born in 610.

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned by Dhahabī again in his life of Ibn Shāfi'.

<sup>9</sup> The word Kutb is largely used by the Sūfis, and is the subject of considerable discussion in the F.M. Flügel (Z.D.M.G. xx, 39) gives an extract from Sha'rānī, whose work is based on the F.M. It would be interesting to know when the Sūfis first took to employing it. In the *Bahjah*, p. 81, A.K. has an eloquent sermon on the subject, which is not very clear. Since Kūshairī does not explain the word in his *Technicalities*, it probably came into use about this time; and very likely Yūsuf of Hamadhān (note 1, p. 303) was the first person so called.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this person was the great-grandson of the Shaikh: 'Abd al-Salām, son of Abū 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Wahhāb, son of 'Abd al-Kādir: this 'Abd al-Salām died in 611 (*Bahjah*, p. 115).



son of 'Abd al-Salām, at Baalbek, who said: "I was informed by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Kūdāmāh<sup>1</sup> in the year 611, who said: 'I was told by the shaikh of Islam 'Abd al-Kādir Ibn Abī Šāliḥ al-Jilī; I was informed by Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Tammār; I was informed by Abū 'Alī Ibn Shādhān<sup>2</sup>; I was informed by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Najīḥ<sup>3</sup>; I was informed by Ya'kūb Ibn Yūsuf al-Kāzwinī<sup>4</sup>; it was related to me by Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd<sup>5</sup>; it was related to me by 'Umar Ibn Abī Kais, after Simāk,<sup>6</sup> after 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zaid, after his father,<sup>7</sup> after 'Abdallāh Ibn Mas'ūd. He said: "The children of Israel<sup>8</sup> appointed a deputy over them after Moses, who stood and prayed in the moon above the sanctuary, and mentioned various things that he had done. Then he went out and let himself down by a rope, and the rope was found hanging in the sanctuary after he had gone off, till he came to some people on the bank of the Nile, whom he found making bricks. He asked them how they got the bricks, and, being told, he made bricks with them. And so he ate of the labour of his hands. When prayer-time came he purified himself and prayed. The workmen then told their overseer that there was among them a man who did so-and-so, and the overseer accordingly sent for him, but he refused to come till he was sent for three times, when he went himself on his beast.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Shaikh al-Muwaffak; see note 1, p. 290. There follows a specimen of a tradition taught by A.K. Other examples are to be found in the Bahjah (pp. 125-131).

<sup>2</sup> Al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad, ob. 420, according to Wüstenfeld, Index to Yāqūt. The Tāj al-'Arūs speaks of al-Ḥusain Ibn Muḥammad, ob. 417.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned in Tāj al-'Arūs with death-date 340. He was called al-Bazzāz al-Baghdādī.

<sup>4</sup> Not mentioned in the dictionary of the learned of Kāzwin (Brit. Mus. 21,468).

<sup>5</sup> Called *al-Maslūb*, 'the crucified,' with nisbah al-Azdī (Tāj al-'Arūs, i, 338). According to Nisā'i (cited in I.Kh. iii, 410, of de Slane's translation) he was a notorious liar.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Simāk Ibn Harb Ibn Aus al-Dhuhlī al-Bakrī, called Abū Mughīrah, ob. 132. "He made many mistakes" (Tāj al-'Arūs).

<sup>7</sup> Zaid Ibn Aslam Abū Usāmah, ob. 136. There is a life of him in Nawāwī's Tahdhīb.

<sup>8</sup> The purpose of this appears to be to emphasize the dignity of labour.



When he saw him he ran away, but the other pursued, overtook him, and bade him stop, because he wanted to speak with him. Accordingly he stopped. He then told him about himself, and how that he was a king and had fled from fear of his Lord. The other then said, 'Methinks I will join thee,' and this he did; he joined him and served God till they both died in the Ramlah of Egypt. 'Abdallah Ibn Mas'ūd said: 'If I were there I could find my way to the grave of the two from the description which the Apostle of God gave of it.' " " " "

Ibn al-Sam'ānī's<sup>1</sup> description is as follows: "Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḳādir was of Jīlān, and was the head and shaikh of the Ḥanbalites in his time. He was a pious jurist, orthodox, frequently repeating the Koran, constantly meditating, readily moved to tears. He got his training as a jurist from al-Mukharrimī, and was the companion of the Shaikh Ḥammād al-Dabbās."<sup>2</sup> He adds that he dwelt at the Azaj Gate<sup>3</sup> in the school which they built for him. "One day I went to bid farewell to one of my companions, and as we were going away one of those who were with me asked if I should not like to pay a visit to 'Abd al-Ḳādir and get his blessing. So we went, and I entered his school when it was morning.<sup>4</sup> The Shaikh presently came out, and made a circle of his followers, and they finished the Koran. When we had done I wanted to rise, but he told me to sit down and wait till the lesson was over. He proceeded to read out a lecture to his students, of which I did not

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the son of Abū Sa'd, mentioned above: indeed, since Abū Sa'd himself died the year after 'Abd al-Ḳādir, he could scarcely talk of 'Abd al-Ḳādir's "time." This son of Abū Sa'd, called Abu'l-Muzaffar 'Abd al-Raḥīm, lived 537-614: he is often quoted for traditions. In his father's work on Nisbahs 'Abd al-Ḳādir is mentioned, and a space left for a notice, which apparently was not filled up. The following notice (according to the *Kalā'id*) occurred in the Appendix to the *History of Baghdad*, and may have been inserted by the writer's son. The Cambridge MS. of a continuation of the *History of Baghdad* has no notice of 'Abd al-Ḳādir (Mr. Nicholson's communication).

<sup>2</sup> See below, note 3, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> An inner gate in East Baghdad, shutting off the Ma'mūniyyah Quarter. See Le Strange's *Baghdad*, map viii.

<sup>4</sup> As we have seen, the followers of 'Abd al-Ḳādir reckon Sam'ānī among his disciples. If that statement rests merely on this passage, it comes to very little.



understand a word.<sup>1</sup> What was still more curious was that the students presently rose and repeated his lecture, apparently understanding it, whereas we understood neither the terms nor the expressions."

Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzī<sup>2</sup> says: "Abu Sa'd al-Mukharrimī had built a fine school at the Azaj Gate. This came into the possession of 'Abd al-Kādir, who preached there. He got a reputation for asceticism, and started a method and silence of his own.<sup>3</sup> The school presently became too small for the audience, and he took to sitting at the wall of Baghdad with his back leaning against his cell.<sup>4</sup> Great crowds used to be converted at a single meeting. Then the school was repaired and enlarged, the common people making great efforts. There he remained preaching and teaching till he died."

My observation on this is that Ibn al-Jauzī's jealousy did

<sup>1</sup> This description, which would apply very well to Ibn 'Arabī's works, seems strange as applied to 'Abd al-Kādir's, which contain no difficulties.

<sup>2</sup> 508-597. A vivid account of this person's public discourses is given by Ibn Jubair, p. 222. Apparently (in Dhahabī's opinion) he was unable to acquire a reputation as great as that which 'Abd al-Kādir had enjoyed, and thence endeavoured to depreciate him. The volume of the Muntazim containing this notice is not accessible to me. As the statement of a contemporary it is of value.

<sup>3</sup> The word *ṭarīkah*, which is ordinarily used in this context, signifies a system of Sūfism. So in Harīrī's last Makāmah Ḥasan al-Basrī is said to have the best *ṭarīkah*. The meaning of Kādirism in the present day is elucidated in the works mentioned at the head of this article; it undoubtedly enjoins the induction of a hypnotic state by the repetition of formulæ and other methods; but it also appears to preach charity to all men. According to some authorities a Jew or Christian may be a Kādirī without changing his religion. Toleration of this sort was scarcely a principle of A.K. himself, since he proselytized on a great scale. A confession of faith ascribed to him is given in the Futūḥ al-ghaib (margin of Bahjah, p. 177), which differs little, if at all, from ordinary Moslem orthodoxy. A brief summary of his *ṭarīk* is given in the Bahjah itself (p. 84). The leading doctrine of the *Faṭḥ Rabbānī* is doubtless that of *Fanā*, or personal extinction in the Deity: and he probably recommended a period of asceticism wherein the devotee could be weaned from the world, to which afterwards he should return, only, however, to take a minimum share therein. The period of asceticism in his own case is put at 25 years (Bahjah, p. 59), but this can scarcely be reconciled with the dates given above. Palgrave seems right in deriving such ideas from India, yet the systematic division of life into periods which Indian theorists reached is not found in A.K.'s writings. If the word rendered 'silence' (*ṣamt*) be anything more than a jingle with the other, it must signify a negative as well as a positive system.

<sup>4</sup> In the Kalā'id (p. 15): "I used to sit in the oratory at the Ḥalbah Gate: then it grew too small for the people, and they brought the pulpit inside the wall between the furnaces (تنانير) and people used to come at night with torches."



not suffer him to give 'Abd al-Kādir a longer notice than this; his prejudice against him was too strong. God keep us from such passion!

Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭarkhān<sup>1</sup> states that the following information was given by the Shaikh al-Muwaffaq<sup>2</sup>; being asked about the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir, he gave the following reply: "We found him still living, but at the end of his life. He lodged us in his school, and looked after us. He often sent his son Yahyā<sup>3</sup> to light the lamp, and would frequently send us food from his own lodging. He used to lead in the regular prayers, and I recited to him from memory out of the book of al-Khirakī<sup>4</sup> in the morning, whereas 'Abd al-Ghanī the ḥāfiẓ<sup>5</sup> used to recite to him from the book called *al-Hidāyah fi'l-Kitāb*.<sup>6</sup> We were the only persons studying with him during that time. We remained with him a month and nine days, when he died; and we prayed over him at night in his school. I never heard more tales of miracles told about anyone than about him, nor did I ever see anyone more generally respected for his piety than he was. We only went through with him a few portions of his books."

I read in the handwriting of Saif al-dīn Ibn Majd al-dīn<sup>7</sup> as follows: "I heard Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd al-Marātibī<sup>8</sup> say: 'I heard the late Shaikh Abū Bakr

<sup>1</sup> 600-690; otherwise called 'Izz al-dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Suwaidī. He was a personal friend of Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah, who has an appreciative notice of him and his works (ii, 266, 267).

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> 550-600, according to the Bahjah (p. 115). He would have been 11 years of age at this time.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Mukhtaṣar of Ḥanbalite law by Abu'l-Kāsim 'Umar al-Khirakī, ob. 334.

<sup>5</sup> See note 11, p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> A Ḥanbalite Hidāyah is mentioned by H.Kh. as the work of Ibn al-Khattāb Maḥfūẓ al-Ṭubādī, which is probably to be corrected Abu'l-Khattāb al-Kalwādī, 432-515, a Ḥanbalite jurist, grammarian, and poet, of whom Yāqūt has a notice (iv, 302).

<sup>7</sup> In the Ghibṭah (p. 47) this story is ascribed to al-Sharaf, i.e. Sharaf al-dīn Ibn al-Majd, 'Isā Ibn al-Muwaffaq, i.e. son of the person mentioned in note 1, p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> A Rukn al-dīn al-Marātibī is mentioned in the Bahjah (p. 112) as one of those who claimed to be disciples of A.K. The Ghibṭah has al-Murā'ī, clearly



'Imād al-dīn<sup>1</sup> say: "I had been reading about the metaphysics of religion, and certain doubts had been instilled into my mind; but I thought I had best wait till I had attended a lecture by the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir, since he was supposed to address himself to the inmost thoughts of his audience. So I went to his lecture-room, and the first words I heard were: 'Our faith is the faith of our pious ancestors and the Companions.' I thought to myself that this remark was accidental. Then he went on, and, turning to the part of the room in which I was he repeated the observation. But I said to myself, 'A preacher is always turning in one direction or another.' Then he turned towards me a third time, and said: 'Abū Bakr! Abū Bakr! rise, for your father has come.' Now he had been away; so I rose and hastened homeward, and found my father had, in fact, just arrived." "

I may observe that a similar story to this is told by the jurist Abu'l-Kāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khālīd,<sup>2</sup> who says: "We were informed by our Shaikh Jamāl-al-dīn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Ṣairafī<sup>3</sup> that he had heard the grammarian Abu'l-Bakā<sup>4</sup> say: 'I attended a lecture of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir, and found the students reading in his presence with wrong

a corruption. From Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, p. 471, we learn that this person's title was Takī al-dīn, that he was head of the Ḥanbalites in Damascus, and a special friend of al-Muwaffaq.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with the Shaikh Abū Bakr 'Atīk or Ma'tūk al-Bandanījī of the *Bahjah* (p. 110) and 'Imād al-dīn Ibn Kamāl al-Bandanījī of Yāqūt (i, 745).

<sup>2</sup> In the *Bahjah* (p. 136) a Mājid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khālīd al-'Irākī is mentioned whose kunyah was Abū Muḥammad. Perhaps this was a brother.

<sup>3</sup> 583-678. There is a life of him by Dhahabī, anno 678, MS. Laud. 279, fol. 110. He was also called Ibn al-Ḥabashī. He was born in Ḥarrān, went to Baghdad in 607, where he heard, among others, Omar al-Suhrawardī, then to Damascus, and thence returned to Ḥarrān: he taught at all these places, and numbered Ibn Taimiyyah among his pupils.

<sup>4</sup> 538-616. 'Abdallah Ibn al-Ḥusain Ibn 'Abdallah al-'Ukbarī al-Baṣrī, the blind grammarian and commentator on Mutanabbi. I.Kh. has a short notice of him. The story told in the *Bahjah*, p. 110, is somewhat different. Al-'Ukbarī, passing by A.K.'s lecture-room, said to himself, "I will enter and hear the talk of this foreigner." He entered; A.K. stopped his discourse and said, "O blind of eye and heart, what have you to do with 'this foreigner's' talk?" Al-'Ukbarī went up and demanded the *khirḳah*, which A.K. gave him. This story and that in the text are mutually exclusive.



intonation, and I said to myself, "I wonder that the Shaikh does not censure them." The Shaikh thereupon said, "Here comes a man who has studied a few chapters of Law, and finds fault." I thought to myself, "Perhaps he means some one else and not me." Then he said, "It is you I mean." So I repented inwardly of having criticized the Shaikh, who told me that God had accepted my repentance.' "

I heard our Shaikh Ibn Taimiyyah<sup>1</sup> say: "I heard the Shaikh 'Izz al-dīn Aḥmad al-Fārūthī<sup>2</sup> say: 'I heard our Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī<sup>3</sup> say: "I intended to apply myself to metaphysics and the basis of religion, but said to myself, 'I will first ask the advice of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir.' So I went to see him. Before I could utter a word he said, 'Omar, it is no preparation for the grave!' which he repeated twice. So I abandoned the subject.' " " "

Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd al-Marātibī<sup>4</sup> says: "I asked the Shaikh al-Muwaffak whether when he was staying with the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir he had seen any miracle wrought by him? He replied, 'I fancy not. However, he used to lecture on Fridays, when we would leave him and go to hear Tradition of Ibn Sāni',<sup>5</sup> but we

<sup>1</sup> 661-728. The famous controversialist. A biography of him is given in Kutbī, i, 35, and at the end of his "Refutation of the Christian Religion," Cairo, 1905, where reference is made to a work called *Jalā'u'l-ainain*.

<sup>2</sup> 614-673. His name was Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm; he was preacher at the Muayyad Mosque (in Damascus?), and wrote on Tradition, etc. (Appendix to I.Kh., MS. Poc. 331). "Fārūth is a large village with a market on the bank of the Tigris, between Wāsiṭ and al-Madhār, of which all the inhabitants are Rāfidīs" (Yākūt).

<sup>3</sup> 539-632. Abū 'Abdallah 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad. I.Kh. has a notice of him. His visit to A.K. is dated 560 in the Bahjah, p. 235. Ibid., p. 32, this story is told with the variation that A.K. passed his hand over 'Umar's breast, in consequence of which he entirely forgot the books on the subject that he had learned. Suhrawardī mentions A.K. occasionally in his *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, see above, p. 274, and p. 301, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See note 8, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> We should probably read *Ibn Shāfi'*, who is cited twice in Yākūt's geographical dictionary. The death-date 560, given in Wüstenfeld's index, is due to an oversight of the editor. He is probably identical with Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Shāfi' al-Jilī (Ghibṭah, p. 30, Bahjah, p. 89); ob. 565 (Ibn al-Athīr). And, indeed, Dhahabī, in his life of this person, states that these two persons studied tradition with him.



got no good from hearing it.' Saif al-dīn<sup>1</sup> says this means they got no good from hearing it owing to the occurrence of certain events. The books they heard were the Musnad and Bukhārī."

Our Shaikh Abu'l-Husain al-Yūnīnī<sup>2</sup> said: "I heard the Shaikh 'Izz al-dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām<sup>3</sup> say that the only miracles that had been transmitted by a continuous tradition were those of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir. He was asked how this could be, when his belief was what it was known to be? He replied that the consequences of a system did not belong to the system."<sup>4</sup>

Ibn al-Najjār, in his life of 'Abd al-Kādir, says as follows: "He came to Baghdad in the year 88, being then 18 years of age. He studied law with Abu'l-Wafā Ibn 'Akīl,<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>6</sup> Abu Sa'd al-Mubārak al-Mukharrimī, and Abu'l-Husain Ibn al-Farrā,<sup>7</sup> till he had mastered Roots, Branches,

<sup>1</sup> See note 7, p. 294. He meant, then, that miracles wrought by A.K. prevented their benefiting by the other's instruction.

<sup>2</sup> Kutb al-dīn Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad, ob. 726, author of an abridgment and continuation of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī's *Mir'āt al-Zamān*. He wrote a biography of A.K. called *Manāqib*. His nisbah comes from Yūnīn or Yūnān, near Baalbek, and he had two brothers, Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī and Badr al-dīn Ḥasan, and a sister, Amat al-Raḥīm (Tāj al-'Arūs).

<sup>3</sup> 577-660. 'Abd al-'Azīz of Damascus. There is a life of him by Kutbī (i, 287), who mentions Yūnīnī among his pupils. Yūnīnī himself (MS. Poc. 132) has a long account of him. See too Ibn Iyās, i, 94, 95, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning appears to be that a man is not bound to hold doctrines that follow logically from other doctrines that he holds. Great offence was given by the saying attributed to A.K. that his foot was on the neck of every saint of God; the author of the *Raudāt al-Jannāt* is very bitter about it. A treatise explaining away this utterance, called *Makhāzin al-Kādiriyyah* (in Persian), by Ishāk Ibn Muḥammad, is in the British Museum (Or. 248). The author, after making the necessary exceptions, quotes in favour of A.K.'s pretension Ibn 'Arabī in the F.M., and al-Insān al-Kāmil, by Yāfi'ī (ob. 755), a work apparently unknown to the bibliographies, though Yāfi'ī's apology for A.K., called *Khulāṣat al-mafākhir*, figures in them. Ibn 'Arabī (*loc. cit.*, i, 262) apparently states that A.K. was commanded to govern the world, and calls him the Kutb of his time; he has also respectful references in ii, 24 and iii, 44. Apparently Ibn 'Abd al-Salām rejected the argument that because he believed in A.K.'s miracles he was bound to accept his pretensions.

<sup>5</sup> His name was 'Alī (Bahjah, p. 106). H.Kh. states that he died in 513, and enumerates various works of his, among them an encyclopædia in 470 volumes (!).

<sup>6</sup> Maḥfūz Ibn Aḥmad al-Kalwadhānī, ob. 510 or 515. (Note 6, p. 294.)

<sup>7</sup> Abu'l-Hasan Muḥammad, son of the Kādī Muḥammad Ibn Ya'li, who died in 438. The son is mentioned (with the kunyah Abu'l-Husain) among the teachers of Ibn Hubairah (I.Kh., de Slane, iv, 115). So anxious are the Kādirīs to make their founder the teacher rather than the taught, that the Bahjah (p. 107) makes the father of this person (ob. 438) declare himself the disciple of A.K. (born 470), and that on the authority of Ibn al-Akhḍar (b. 524).



and Differences. He also heard Tradition (here a list of teachers was given). He read Literature with Abu Zakariyyā al-Tabrizī.<sup>1</sup> He devoted himself to preaching till he became an adept. Then he betook himself to solitude,<sup>2</sup> asceticism, wandering, self-denial, sleeplessness, residence in wastes and deserts, and became the companion of the Shaikh Ḥammād al-Dabbās,<sup>3</sup> from whom he learnt the doctrine of the Path. Then God revealed him to mankind, and caused him to be favourably received. He formed his first congregation in the year 521, when God revealed wisdom by his tongue; then in the year 528 he sat in his Shaikh's school<sup>4</sup> to lecture and answer legal questions. He formed the object of pious visits and vows, wrote on the Roots and Branches,<sup>5</sup> and was a powerful preacher in the style of the people of the Path. Traditions have been told us on his authority by his son 'Abd al-Razzāk, Aḥmad Ibn al-Bandanījī,<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Ḳubbaitī,<sup>7</sup> and others."

<sup>1</sup> Ob. 502.

<sup>2</sup> He professed to have wandered in the desert twenty-five years (Bahjah, p. 85).

<sup>3</sup> Ob. 525. There is a brief notice of him in Lawākiḥ al-Anwār (i, 180), where an attempt is made to show that he was the pupil, not the master. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī (MS. Marsh, 658, anno 625) gives some more details: he used to give all who were suffering from the fever almonds and dried grapes to eat, and this remedy was effective. He used at first to accept vows and distribute them; afterwards he refused. The Bahjah (p. 53) makes A.Ḳ. associate with him in 499 and 508, when Dabbās professed to have 12,000 disciples (*murīdīn*), whose names he recited every night. In 523 (p. 20), when A.Ḳ. had already become a preacher, he is represented as warning the latter against taking too high a tone. In 529, on 27 Dhu'l-Hijjah, A.Ḳ. with a great following visited his grave in the Shūnīzī cemetery, where he had a vision of Dabbās, otherwise bedecked with gold and jewels, but unable to move the right hand which smote A.Ḳ. The latter, however (with the aid of 5,000 dead walīs), interceded, and his right hand was restored. When A.Ḳ. announced this, all Dabbās's followers in Baghdad came to A.Ḳ.'s school, and asked for evidence. They agreed to refer the matter to Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Shu'aib al-Kurdī. People offered A.Ḳ. a week, but before this proposition was accepted the two shaikhs came running to the school to confirm what A.Ḳ. had said from their own revelations. Probably an alibi could be proved for Yūsuf.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Mukharrimī's, which was enlarged by public subscription.

<sup>5</sup> His work *Ghunyah* is rather in the style of Ghazālī's *Ihyā*. A work called *Yawākiṭ al-Ḥikam* mentioned by H.Kh. was probably homiletic. Some other works (enumerated by Le Chatelier) are forms of prayer.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Bahjah (p. 110) all the jurists of Bandanījain, a district near Nahrawān, professed to be followers of A.Ḳ. A story is told on his authority in the *Kalā'id* (p. 48), where he is associated with Jamāl al-dīn Ibn al-Jauzī.

<sup>7</sup> See above, note 7, p. 290.



'Abdallah Ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Jubbā'ī<sup>1</sup> wrote to me<sup>2</sup> with his own hand as follows: "The Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir told me: 'My soul one day worried me for a lust, which I resisted, going down street after street till I could get to the desert. Whilst I was walking I saw a leaf of paper flung on the ground, which I found contained the words, "What have the strong to do with lusts? Lusts were created for the weak, that they might fortify themselves thereby to obey Me."' When I read this, the lust departed from my heart.' He went on to say that he used to sustain himself by wild carobs and lettuce from the river bank.<sup>3</sup>"

I read in the handwriting of Abu Bakr 'Abdallah Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ḥamzah al-Taimī<sup>3</sup> as follows: "I heard 'Abd al-Kādir al-Jilī say: 'During a famine that befell Baghdad I was in such straitened circumstances that I remained some days without food, trying to find refuse, and one day I went to the river-bank on the chance of finding a lettuce or other vegetable. Wherever I went I found that others had been there before me; so I went towards the country, and could find no place where there was likely to be any refuse where I had not been anticipated. Finally, weakness overcame me, and being unable to hold out any longer I entered a mosque,<sup>4</sup> and was just facing death, when a young Persian came in, who had with him some bread and roast meat. He sat down and began to eat. Each time he raised his hand to his mouth I nearly opened mine, so hungry was I; and I blamed myself for my want of self-control. Presently

<sup>1</sup> Ob. 605, according to Yāqūt and Dhahabī, *Mushtabih* (p. 84), where we are told that he came from Jubbah, in the district of Tarābulus, and went to Isfahan. This person is called in the *Bahjah* (p. 109) with its usual superlatives "chief of the Musnids and jurists." His written communications to Ibn al-Najjār form perhaps our chief source of information about A.K. Besides those copied by Dhahabī, there is one given in the *Bahjah* (p. 102), according to which Bishr al-Kuraḏī recovered four camels in the desert by invoking A.K.'s name. He saw a man in dazzling white raiment pointing out where they were.

<sup>2</sup> The same story is told in the *Ghibṭah* (p. 8).

<sup>3</sup> Author of a work called *Anwār al-nāẓir*. In the *Ghibṭah* (p. 8) this story is told as part of a narrative given by Ṭalḥah Ibn Muẓaffar al-ʿAlthi, ob. 593, of whom Yāqūt (iii, 711) has a brief notice.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Ghibṭah* the Mosque of Yasin; according to the *Kalā'id*, in the *Sūkh al-Raiḥāniyyin*.



+ the lad turned round and saw me. He said, "In the Name of God" (handing me a morsel), but I refused; he conjured me, and, anxious as I was to accept, I still resisted my inclination, and refused. Finally he conjured me till I accepted, and ate, yet sparingly. Then he asked me what my business was and whence I came. I replied that I was a law-student, and that I came from Jīlān. "I too," he replied, "am from Jīlān, and do you know a young man of Jīlān called 'Abd al-Kādir, and known as daughter's son to Abū 'Abdallah al-Ṣauma'i the ascetic?<sup>1</sup>" "That is I," I said. He was alarmed thereat and his face changed. Then he said: "By Allah, my brother, I came to Baghdad having still some journey money with me, and asked after you, but no one could give me any information, till all my journey money was exhausted, after which I remained for three days, in which I could not find the cost of my maintenance except from your money which was in my possession. On this fourth day I said to myself, 'Three days have now passed in which I have eaten nothing, and I am now permitted by law to eat dead flesh.'<sup>2</sup> So I took some of your money which had been entrusted to me, and with it bought this bread and roast meat, so you may eat it with a good conscience, since it is your own, and I here am your guest." "What do you mean?" I asked. He replied: "Your mother sent with me eight dinars for you, and I assure you I have not cheated you till to-day." So I quieted and comforted him, and gave him part of the money.'"

'Abdallah Ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan<sup>3</sup> al-Jubbā'ī wrote to me: "The Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir said to me: 'I was in the desert repeating my law-lesson, in a terrible state of poverty, when some one, whose person I did not see, said to me, "Borrow enough to maintain you while you are studying

<sup>1</sup> This person's praises are recounted by Ibn al-Wardī, and indeed A.K.'s mother and aunt are made out to have been saints.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. of animals that have died a natural death.

<sup>3</sup> In the Ghibṭah a similar story is given on the authority of 'Abdallah al-Salamī, with considerable variations; the same is told *ibid.*, p. 10.



law." I replied, "How am I to borrow, when I am so poor,<sup>1</sup> and could never pay?" He answered, "Borrow and We undertake the payment." So I went, he said, 'to a grocer, and said to him, "Would you deal with me on the condition that I am to pay you whenever God eases my way, while if I die I am to be acquitted of payment? Say you give me every day a loaf and some cress?" The man burst into tears, and said to me, "Sir, I am at your service." So I took his goods for a certain time, till I could endure it no longer.' Then I fancy he said:<sup>2</sup> 'Then a voice said to me: "Go to a certain place, take whatever you find on the seat, and give it to the grocer." So I went and found on a bench there a large piece of gold. So I took it and gave it to the grocer.' "

He continued: "At one time I had a fit of insanity,<sup>3</sup> and was taken to the madhouse; a series of ecstasies seized me till I died. Grave-clothes were brought, and I was placed in the lavatory, and then my fit passed over. I rose up and bethought me that I would leave Baghdad owing to the constant disturbances there. So I went to the Halbah Gate,<sup>4</sup> when some one said to me, 'Whither goest thou?' He then gave me a push which knocked me down. 'Go back,' he said, 'for you can do the people good.' I said, 'I wish to keep my religion sound.' He said, 'That is granted you.' All this time I did not see the speaker. Then I was seized with a fresh set of ecstasies and wished to find some one to remove them. As I passed by

<sup>1</sup> In the *Ghibṭah* (p. 33) Ibn al-Najjār is quoted for the statement that A.K. was the owner of land which was cultivated for him by disciples, while others undertook to grind his corn and bake his bread. At a later time he (like other saints) lived largely by vows, i.e. money vowed by persons who were desirous of obtaining something, and obtained it. In the *Bahjah* (p. 104) there is a case quoted in which a vow of this sort amounted to 30 dinars; ordinarily they were of far less value. A.K. kept open house on these receipts. According to Subrawardī (*loc. cit.*, ii, 71) all his four wives "spent money on him cheerfully and gladly."

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is a rather interesting confession on Jubbā'ī's part that the only miraculous part in the story is a romance of his own.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn 'Arabī makes (if I remember rightly) the same confession.

<sup>4</sup> "The present Bāb al-Ṭilsam" (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 291).



al-Zafariyyah,<sup>1</sup> a man, opening his door, said to me, 'Abd al-Kādir, what did you seek yesterday?' Having forgotten, I was silent. The man got angry, and slammed the door violently in my face. When I went on I recollected what I had been asking God, and went back to look for the door, but could not recognize it. Now the man was Ḥammād al-Dabbās, whom I got to know afterwards, and who cleared up all my difficulties. If ever I absented myself from him in the pursuit of knowledge, when I returned he would say to me, 'What has brought you to us? You are a jurist, and had better go to the jurists.' And I had no answer. One Friday I went with the others with him to the place of prayer<sup>2</sup> on a very cold day. When we got to the bridge over the river, the Kādi<sup>3</sup> knocked me into the water. I said to myself, 'This is the Friday washing. In the name of God!' I had on me a woollen *jubbah*, and there were MSS. in my sleeve. So I raised my sleeve that the MSS. might not be injured. The others then left me and went on. I squeezed out my *jubbah* and followed the party, but suffered severely from the cold. The Shaikh used to ill-treat me and beat me, and if ever I came to him hungry he would say, 'Lots of bread and cake have come for us to-day; we have eaten all, and left none for you, because we did not want your company.' His pupils used to take the hint, and say to me, 'You are a jurist; what do you want with us?' But when the Shaikh saw them annoy me, he took my part, and said to them, 'You hounds, what do you mean by teasing him, when there is not one among you to be compared with him? I am only teasing him in order to prove him. And now I find him to be an immovable mountain.' After a time there came a man from Hamadhān, called

<sup>1</sup> "Took its name from the Garden of Zafar, one of the chief servants of the Caliph, though of which caliph, or when Zafar flourished, is not stated" (Le Strange, *ibid.*, p. 288).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Ruṣāfah Mosque (Ghibṭah, p. 13; Bahjah, p. 53). The chronological difficulty in the latter is noticed above.

<sup>3</sup> This title implies that in another form of the story Mukharrimī was the culprit.



Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī.<sup>1</sup> He used to be called the Pole. He took up his abode in a monastery. When I heard about him I went thither; not seeing him I asked about him, and was told that he was in the cellar.<sup>2</sup> So I descended, and when he saw me he rose up, made me sit down, and scrutinized my features; he then recounted to me all the experiences which I had undergone, and solved all my difficulties. Then he told me to speak in public. 'Sir,' I replied, 'I am a foreigner, without admixture, and speechless; how am I to speak before the orators of Baghdad?' He said, 'You have committed to memory the Law, its Roots, the Differences, the Vocabulary, and the interpretation of the Koran; surely you are qualified to speak. Mount the pulpit, therefore, and address the people. I see in you a cutting that will develop into a palm.'"

The Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir told me further: "I used to receive orders<sup>3</sup> and prohibitions both in sleep and waking hours, and the things to be said used to crowd upon my heart and overwhelm me; if I did not utter them I should have choked, and could not be silent. At first two or three men sat with me and listened; then people heard about me, and numbers crowded to hear, till about 70,000 used to gather at a single meeting.

"I have examined," he said, "all acts, and can find none more meritorious than the bestowing of food. How I wish

<sup>1</sup> 440-535. A life of him is given by I.Kh., after Ibn al-Najjār and Sam'ānī. According to this he was born in the village of Buzanajird, came to Baghdad, where he studied with Abū Ishāk al-Shirāzī and other eminent jurists, and travelled to Isfahan and Samarcand, where he acquired further knowledge, and also devoted himself to piety and asceticism. Afterwards he returned to Baghdad in 515, where for a time he taught and preached in the Nizāmiyyah College. After this he spent his life at Merv and Herāt, and died at Bama'in on the Merv road. In the *Lawākiḥ al-Anwār* we are told that his body was afterwards transferred to a sanctuary at Merv. Some of his miracles are recorded in this work; among them that he released a captive lad at Constantinople, and brought him through the air in the twinkling of an eye to Hamadhān. Further details about him are given in the *Ḥadā'ik al-wardiyyah fī ḥakā'ik al-Nakshabandiyyah* (Cairo, 1308, p. 109), where we learn the names of some of his books—*Khuṭbat al-ḥayāt*, *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn*, *Manāzil al-Sālikīn*.

<sup>2</sup> It was a form of asceticism to dwell under ground; in the *Bahjah* (p. 31) a certain Ibn Kā'id is said to have lived thus fourteen years.

<sup>3</sup> *Bahjah*, p. 49.



the whole world were in my possession, so that I might feed the hungry therewith! My hand," he said, "has a hole in it; it can retain nothing. If I were to receive two thousand dinars not one would be left with me by nightfall."

If anyone brought him gold, he would tell the bringer to put it under the prayer-carpet.<sup>1</sup>

He said to me besides: "I should like to be in the desert and waste places as I was at first, neither seeing mankind nor being seen. Yet," he went on to say, "God desired to benefit mankind through me, and indeed more than five hundred persons<sup>2</sup> have by me been converted to Islam, and more than 100,000 robbers<sup>3</sup> and bandits have been brought by me to repentance. And this is a great deal of good."

He said to me further: "Burdens come down upon me so heavy that mountains would be crushed beneath them. When this happens I lie on my side on the ground, and read the verse<sup>4</sup> 'Verily in difficulty there is ease'; presently I raise my head, and the troubles have all disappeared. When a child is born to me,"<sup>5</sup> he added, "I take it in my arms and say, 'This is doomed to die.' I remove it from my heart, and if the child dies it leaves no impression on me."

Ibn al-Najjār continues: "I heard 'Abd al-Razzāk, son of 'Abd al-Kādir, say: 'Forty-nine children<sup>6</sup> were born to my father, twenty-seven males and the rest female.'"

<sup>1</sup> Bahjah, p. 104, where the passage goes on: "nor would he touch it with his hand. And when his servant came, he would say to him, 'Take what is under the carpet, and give it to the baker and grocer.'" The expression 'under the prayer-carpet' is used in Cairo now for secret commissions and profits.

<sup>2</sup> Bahjah, p. 96, where this citation from al-Jubbā'ī is followed by examples of such conversions, which, however, were not effected by A.K.'s eloquence, but by mysterious voices or dreams. Similar stories are told of other saints, e.g. Abū Sa'īd.

<sup>3</sup> The 'ayyārūn are frequently mentioned in the histories of this time. The form *mashālīḥah* = *shulūḥ* is not apparently registered in the dictionaries.

<sup>4</sup> Sūrah xciv, 5, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Bahjah, p. 87, where we learn that the Shaikh would continue his sermon after such news had been brought him, and after it had finished go and bury his offspring.

<sup>6</sup> Since the last citation implies that many of them died, Carra de Vaux is probably mistaken in supposing some of these to have been spiritual descendants. Rinn (p. 178) gives the names of nine sons: 'Isā (died in Cairo, 573), 'Abdallah (b. 508, d. at Baghdad 589), Ibrāhīm (d. at Wāsit, 592), 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. at Baghdad, 593), Yahyā and Muḥammad (both d. at Baghdad,



He continues: "‘Abdallah Ibn Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Jubbā’ī wrote to me as follows: ‘I used to hear the book *al-Hilyah*<sup>1</sup> read before Ibn Nāṣir,<sup>2</sup> and my heart softened, till I said to myself, “I should like to separate myself from mankind, and devote myself to the service of God.” I prayed behind the Shaikh ‘Abd al-Kādir, and when he had finished we sat down. He looked at me and said, “If you want to retreat, then before you do so study Law, attend the courses of the Shaikhs, and learn some literature; otherwise you will remain as you are, an unfledged chick.”’”

Ibn al-Najjār goes on: "I was informed by Abū ‘Abdallah Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘īd,<sup>3</sup> the Witness, on the authority of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, son of ‘Abd al-Kādir, of the following: ‘I heard Abu'l-Thanā<sup>4</sup> Ibn Abi'l-Barakāt al-Nahrmalkī say: “A friend told me he had heard it said that no fly<sup>5</sup> ever alighted on the garments of the Shaikh ‘Abd al-Kādir. I said, ‘I know nothing of this.’ The following Friday we went in the morning to the Shaikh’s meeting-house. He

600), ‘Abd al-Razzāk (b. 528, d. at Baghdad, 603), Mūsā (b. 539, d. at Damascus, 613), ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (532–602, *Kalā'id*, p. 54; migrated to Jiyāl, a village of Sinjār, Bahjah, p. 114). Depont et Coppolani add the names ‘Abd al-Jabbār (ob. 575, *Kalā'id*; mentioned Bahjah, p. 114, but without details), ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, ‘Abd al-Ghanī; “‘Abd es-Settan” (perhaps ‘Abd al-Salām) and “Salah” (probably Ṣālih), who, they further add, were grandsons. To this list of twelve we may add from the Bahjah the eldest son, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, 508–587. Perhaps the most interesting figure is ‘Abd al-Salām, son of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (ob. 611), who (says Ibn al-Athīr) held several important posts, but was suspected of being a philosopher; he was imprisoned in consequence, and his books burned at the Bāb al-‘āmmah, but he was himself released presently by his father’s intercession. Further details are given above. The India Office (MS.) Catalogue mentions a treatise on the family of A.K., but I have been unable to see it. Though the forty-nine children were not all by one mother, it is not clear that the saint (though he married late, ‘Awārif al-Mā‘ārif, § 21) had more than one wife at one time, since the youngest, Yahyā, was born 550. Their births therefore cover a period of forty-two years, and there may have been some twins. It is, however, to be observed that with the Ṣūfis, as interpreted by Sha‘rānī, polygamy was rather a merit than the reverse in a saint. The *Kalā'id* gives full details of the family for many generations.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the *Hilyat al-awliyā* of Abū Nu‘aim (ob. 430).

<sup>2</sup> 467–550. Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Salāmī. A short life by I.Kh. i, 618.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. al-Dubaithī, 558–637. I.Kh. has a life of him. He wrote a continuation of Sam‘ānī’s Supplement. For ‘the Witness’ the Ghibṭah (p. 44) has ‘the General’ (*al-Kā'id*); probably both are corrupt for *al-Dubaithī*.

<sup>4</sup> In the Ghibṭah *Abu'l-Bakā*. Probably the former is right, but the person meant is unknown.

<sup>5</sup> This was actually asserted by A.K.’s servant (Bahjah, p. 86).



turned to us and said, 'What should a fly want with me, who have neither the fig-paste of this world nor the honey of the other?'''''

He continues<sup>1</sup>: "I was told by Abu'l-Bakā 'Abdallah Ibn al-Ḥusain al-Ḥanbalī as follows: 'I heard Yahyā Ibn al-Najāḥ al-Adīb<sup>2</sup> say: "I said to myself, 'I should like to count the number of times the Shaikh cuts off penitents' hair';<sup>3</sup> so I went to his meeting-house, taking with me a thread, and each time he cut off some hair I made a knot in the thread under my garment. And although I was quite in the back row, the Shaikh called out to me, 'While I loosen, you tie!'''''"

He goes on<sup>4</sup>: "I heard the Shaikh of the Sūfīs, 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī, say: 'In my youth I studied Law, and it came into my mind to read some treatise on metaphysical theology, yet I communicated my intention to no one. Now it happened that I prayed with my uncle the Shaikh Abu'l-Najāb,<sup>5</sup> with whom the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir happened to be on a friendly visit. My uncle asked him to invoke a blessing on me, and informed him that I was a law-student. So I rose up and kissed his hand. Taking my hand he said to me, "Repent of your design! So will you prosper." Then he was silent, and let go my hand. Still, I did not alter my design of studying metaphysical theology, till all my affairs went out of order, and my life was embittered; and I knew that the reason was my disobedience to the Shaikh.'"

He goes on: "I heard Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Akhḍar<sup>6</sup> say: 'I used to visit the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir in

<sup>1</sup> Bahjah, p. 94; Ghibṭah, p. 44, where, however, for al-'Ikrimī we should read al-'Ukbarī, this Abu'l-Bakā being the same as that of note 4, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with the author of *Subul al-Khairāt*, a Spanish writer who died 422.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently this was a symbolic act, signifying that the person was let go free (cf. Jacob, *Beduinenleben*, 137, and I.Kh., de Slane, ii, 382).

<sup>4</sup> We had a similar story above. Another form of it is given in the Bahjah, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Ob. 563. See I.Kh., de Slane, ii, 150.

<sup>6</sup> 524-611. His name was 'Abdallah Ibn Abī Naṣr Maḥmūd Ibn al-Mubārak al-Junābidhī (Bahjah, p. 110). Yākūt, however (ii, 121), calls him 'Abd



midwinter, when it was bitterly cold. He had on him a single tunic, and a *tāḳiyah*<sup>1</sup> on his head, while around him were people fanning him, and all the time he was perspiring as though it were exceedingly hot.' ”

He continues: “I heard ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Shaibānī say: ‘I heard the ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ghanī<sup>2</sup> say: “I heard Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Khasshāb<sup>3</sup> the grammarian say: ‘When I was a lad I studied grammar, and heard people describe the beauty of the language of the Shaikh ‘Abd al-Ḳādir. I wanted in consequence to hear him, but could not find time. One day, however, I at last went to his meeting-house, but when he spoke I neither admired his language nor could I understand it. So I said to myself, “This is a wasted day.” Turning to the part of the room where I was seated he said, “What! you prefer grammar to sermons! You definitely make choice of the former? Follow me and we shall make you a Sibawaihi!” ’ ’ ’ ’ ’ ”

He continues: “Our Shaikh Aḥmad son of Zafar, son of the Vizier Ibn al-Hubairah,<sup>4</sup> says: ‘I asked my grandfather

al-‘Azīz, and states that he lived in Darb al-Ḳayyār in the district of Nahr al-Mu‘alla in East Baghdad. Yāḳūt was his pupil and praises him highly. The story is told in the Bahjah (p. 88).

<sup>1</sup> Originally a skull-cap worn under the turban, according to Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, who was not then aware that it formed part of the Sūfi livery. In the Bahjah (p. 69) a certain Khalaf Ibn ‘Ayyāsh al-Shāri‘ī, al-Shāfi‘ī, being sent to Baghdad to buy a copy of the Musnad of Ibn Hanbal, determines to visit ‘Abd al-Ḳādir, and arranges in his mind a number of things that the saint should do; among them that “he should put on me the *tāḳiyah* before I ask him.” The saint reads his thoughts exactly and does all that had been in Khalaf’s mind. Similarly (p. 43), “then A.Ḳ. placed on my head a *tāḳiyah*, and when it touched my skull I felt a coolness spread therefrom to my heart.” In Lawāḳih al-Anwār, i, 192, we read of the two *khirkahs*, the garment and the *tāḳiyah*. And so in the Bahjah (p. 133) the converted brigand Abū Bakr al-Batā’ihī receives both from Abū Bakr the Caliph in a dream.

<sup>2</sup> See note 11, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> 492–567. ‘Abdallāh Ibn Aḥmad. I.Kh. has a life of him.

<sup>4</sup> 497–560. Yahyā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hubairah. I.Kh. has a full biography. He was a Hanbalite like most of the persons mentioned in this text. According to I.Kh. he left two sons, ‘Izz al-dīn Muḥammad and Sharaf al-dīn Muẓaffar. The first of these is brought twice into A.Ḳ.’s lecture-room by the Bahjah. In the first case (p. 30) we have a story told by Abū’l-Khair Muḥammad Ibn Maḥfūz Ibn ‘Atimah at his house in the Azaj Gate, Baghdad, on Rejeb 3, 592. He and the following persons were all present in the lecture-room of A.Ḳ. on a certain occasion: Abū’l-Su‘ūd al-Harīmī (lived till 579, p. 75; F.M. i, 243, 323; ii, 24), Muḥammad Ibn Ḳā’id al-Awānī (F.M. i, 243, 262), al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī Jamīl, “the man of the step and the thunderbolt”



to give me leave to visit the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir. He not only gave me leave, but sent a sum of money with me, telling me to pay it to the Shaikh, and also told me to greet him. I presented myself, and when the meeting was over, and he had come down from the pulpit, I saluted him, but recoiled from handing the money to him before that assembly. The Shaikh anticipated my thoughts, and said, "Hand over what you have got, never mind." , , ,

I was informed by Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn al-Mubārak al-Marḡānī,<sup>1</sup> who said<sup>2</sup>: "I accompanied the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir"— (The author's fair copy reached as far as this point, but we may supply the rest from the *Manāḡib*.)

The author of the "Mirror of the Time"<sup>3</sup> says the silence of the Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḳādir was more lengthy than his discourse, and he spoke direct to people's hearts, and he enjoyed great fame and perfect popularity. He never quitted his school except on Friday or when he went to his cell. The bulk<sup>4</sup> of the people of Baghdad repented through him, and most of the Jews and Christians were by him converted to Islam. No one could see him except at prayer-

(his story told p. 83), 'Umar Ibn Mas'ūd al-Bazzāz (lived till 592, p. 100), 'Umar Ibn Abī Naṣr al-Ghazzāl, Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣarṣarī (lived till 631, p. 82), 'Alī Ibn Ghannā'im al-Batā'iḥī (ob. 573), Ibn al-Khidrī, Muḥammad son of the Vizier Ibn Hubairah, 'Abdallah Ibn Hibatallah, and 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṣāhib. The Shaikh offered to give them anything they wished for; all the others desired spiritual gifts, but the vizier's son wanted to be deputy vizier, 'Abdallah Ibn Hibatallah wanted to be ustādh al-dār (mayor of the palace), and 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad to be chamberlain. All these wishes were granted. In the second case we are told by Mas'ūd Ibn 'Umar al-Hāshimī that the three statesmen, with a fourth, Amīn al-dīn 'Alī Ibn Thābit, were so roundly rated by A.K. that they "died," i.e. were thoroughly humiliated. Ḳutbī (i, 198) has a life of Zafar son of Ibn Hubairah, who should be the person mentioned in the text; but the death-date 652 seems too late; perhaps we should read 562. And since Ḳutbī states that Zafar was imprisoned in his father's lifetime, was released after his death, and then executed for trying to quit Baghdad, we see why Aḥmad asked his grandfather's leave. In the *Ḳalā'id* (p. 50) Aḥmad is called Abu'l-Fath.

<sup>1</sup> This person is mentioned by Yāḳūt (iii, 711) as a teacher of al-'Althī. In the *Bahjah* (p. 116) the nisbah is given as *Marfaghani*. Neither is explained in *Lubb al-Lubāb*.

<sup>2</sup> The story that follows in the *Ghibtāh* is to the effect that A.K. took great trouble with the instruction of a dull foreigner, and, being asked why he did so, explained that the man would die within a week, a prophecy which was fulfilled.

<sup>3</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jauzī, 583-654.

<sup>4</sup> Clearly a gross exaggeration.



time. He would speak the truth boldly from the pulpit, and reproach those who were put in authority over the people. When al-Mukṭafī<sup>1</sup> appointed as judge the wicked Ibn al-Murakkhim,<sup>2</sup> he said from the pulpit,<sup>3</sup> "You have appointed over the Moslems the wickedest of the wicked: how will you answer presently before the Lord of the Worlds?" He performed striking miracles, of which a number were related by many shaikhs whom I myself met.

I was told by my maternal uncle Khāṣṣ Bey,<sup>4</sup> etc.

And I was told by Muẓaffar al-Ḥarbī,<sup>5</sup> a pious man, as follows: "I used," he said, "to sleep in the school of 'Abd al-Kādir for the sake of his sermon. One night I went and climbed on the roof of the school, when the heat was very great, and I longed for fresh dates, till I said, 'O Lord God, if I could only have five dates!' Now the Shaikh had a trap-door in the roof, which he opened, and he came out with five dates in his hand. And he called out, not that he knew me, 'Muẓaffar, find what you sought!'" He adds that there were many more stories of the sort.

He states also that Ibn Yūnus,<sup>6</sup> vizier of the Caliph Nāṣir, assailed 'Abd al-Kādir's family, dispersed them, and injured

<sup>1</sup> 530-556. According to one of A.K.'s servants (Muḥammad Ibn al-Khidr al-Husain al-Mauṣilī, Bahjah, p. 86) he used to receive visits from caliphs and viziers, and when he wrote to the Caliph his letter was as follows: "'Abd al-Kādir writes, bidding thee do this or that; he has a right to command thee, and thou art bound to obey him; he is thy pattern, and evidence against thee." The Caliph, when he received such a missive, would obey at once. Al-Mustanjid (555-566) was also severely rebuked by A.K. (pp. 61, 77).

<sup>2</sup> One of the first acts of Mustanjid (555) was to cashier this Kādī, whose wickedness partly consisted in his possessing philosophical books, such as Avicenna's *Shifā* and the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, which were burnt in the marketplace. (Ibn al-Athīr.) His name was Wafā (Yāqūt, *Udabā*, fol. 122b).

<sup>3</sup> Similar boldness was displayed by Ibn 'Abd al-Salām (note 3, p. 297), according to Kutbī, i, 288. He was in consequence deprived of the office of Khatīb.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Balankri, vizier of the Sultan Mas'ūd the Seljūkī, who, on his death in 547, set his son Malikshāh on the throne (Ibn al-Athīr, anno 547). Presently he deposed Malikshah and made his brother Muḥammad successor, with the object of deposing him also; he was, however, forestalled by Muḥammad and killed. The story that follows is not fit for translation. We learn from it that his name was Zubair.

<sup>5</sup> This person figures as A.K.'s servant in the *Kalā'id* (p. 10). Ibid. (p. 97), there is added *من اهل الحرمية*.

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear who is meant.



them in every possible way. He banished them to Wāsit. God in requital dispersed the power of Ibn Yūnus and dispatched him, so that he died a most horrible death.

I have to add that the Shaikh was matchless, far-famed, and a leader both in knowledge and conduct. The Shaikh Nūr al-dīn al-Shaṭṭanaufī the Mukrī composed a lengthy work in three volumes on his life and work, wherein he has produced milk with the cud<sup>1</sup> equally, and has mixed with truth statements that are groundless and false, being told on the authority of persons of no worth. So they assert that the Shaikh took thirteen steps in the air off his pulpit at a meeting;<sup>2</sup> and that once when the Shaikh was discoursing and no-one was moved, he said, "You are not moved, and feel no pleasure. Ye lamps, manifest *your* delight!" whereupon the lamps moved about and the dishes danced. In general, however, his miracles are recorded by a sound chain, and he left no-one after him like himself. The Shaikh died on 10 Rabī' ii, 561, being 90 years old. His funeral was attended by a countless multitude. A saying reported by al-Jubbā'ī as uttered by the Shaikh 'Abd al-Kādir is, "Mankind screen you from your soul, and your soul screens you from God."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Lane, col. 400a.

<sup>2</sup> Bahjah, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> See al-Faṭḥ al-Rabbānī, forty-third discourse.